Daily Report

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Yugoslavia

Croatia—TANJUG reports the government of the "Republic of Serbian Krajina" decided to hold a referendum in Glina on the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces. In a communique referring to proceedings of the SFRY Presidency's expanded session, the government criticized their member's positions as "pathological political behavior" rather than the voice of the people.

TANJUG reports further that when asked what he will do if the people vote in favor of the peace plan, President of "Republic of Serbian Krajina" Milan Babic replied: "The same as always; I will go along with the assembly's decision and the will of the people," but added that "he can not go against his own personal convictions."

Belgrade Radio reports that Babic deemed the assembly meeting in Glina "illegitimate" and discouraged deputies from attending. However according to Novi Sad TV, a quorum was reached and the assembly was able to "make binding decisions." TANJUG reports that the assembly "unconditionally accepted Cyrus Vance's peace plan for the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina."

Bosnia-Hercegovina—In an interview with Novi Sad TV, Blaz Kraljevic, commander of the "war headquarters" of the Croatian Defense Force in Hercegovina, details the forces' mission. When asked what justified the presence of forces in Hercegovina, Kraljevic replied "the occupation of eastern Hercegovina." Kraljevic includes in his cadre "instructors" and "military strategists" from various parts of Croatia and says his command is financed by "Croatian emigrants abroad."

Interepublic—Sarajevo Radio reports that Prime Ministers Jure Pelivan of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Radoman Bozovic of Serbia "failed to reach a definite agreement on lifting the blockade of economic relations" at their meeting in Sarajevo today. Both ministers cited a lack of legal and monetary security as the obstacles in the way of an accord.

Romania

ROMPRES reports that approximately 55 percent turned out to vote in the local elections held on 9 February. "The small participation of the voters in the polls is caused especially by the situation of the Romanian economy..."

Election problems arose when the Police Inspectorate of Satu Mare County discovered that a clerk at the Satu Mare county branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) had stolen nine polling bulletins. The UDMR, however, rejects the accusation stating that the bulletins did not have the checking seal and therefore could not be legally used.

On 10 February the Central Election Commission released preliminary data on the local polls. According to information, "a second ballot is to be held in many localities all over the country both for the office of mayor and for the office of councillor because no candidate has acquired the necessary half-plus-one votes."

Czechoslovakia

The latest claim of arms exports was reported broadcast by Israeli radio. Foreign Trade Minister Jozef Baksay denied information that Czechoslovakia has agreed to sell 350 T-72 tanks to Israel, Prague radio reports. He described the "alleged sale as rumors."

In a report carried by HOSPODARSKE NOVINY on 5 February Slovak Prime Minister Jan Carnogursky "did not rule out more arms exports," and "did not give a concrete answer" as to whether more arms export contracts have already been signed.

Islami Discusses European Aid, Elections

AU0902195092 Tirana ATA in English 0905 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—On February 8, the chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly, Dr. Kastriot Islami, gave a press conference. He made an expose of the proceedings of the 43rd session of the parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, which was held in Strasbourg these days. He pointed out among other things that Albania's admission to this assembly with the status of the special invitee, makes up an historic moment for our country and was hailed by all the participants. This act is a positive assessment of the development of democratic processes carried out in Albania to build up the juridical state and guarantee the human rights. I, he said, voiced my opinion that the political stability will be attained with the ending of the elections, in order to create more favourable conditions for foreign investments for the Albanians to live through their toil in Albania. I underlinded that the development of the democratic processes in our country is closely related also to the solution of the problem of the Albanians in the former Yugoslavia.

Speaking of the talks with the newly elected president of the assembly, Mr. Fitsberg from England, Dr. Kastriot Islami said that he thanked him for the aid the Council of Europe has rendered for the draft law on the elections and that he demanded that a delegation comes to Albania to observe the conditions of the development of the elections campaign. He also demanded Mr. Fitsberg committment to provide technical aid for the successful realization of the electoral campaign. Dr.Kastriot Islami informed that these talks treated of also the bilateral relations between Albania and England, to raise them at a higher level.

Further on, Dr. Kastriot Islami pointed out that the proceedings of the parliamentary assembly examined two reports of this assembly related to the difficult situation our country is undergoing in this transitional stage, that on the priority needs of the pediatrics hospital in Tirana, and that on the exodus of the Albanian nationals.

Those present, Dr. Kastriot Islami said, backed up the proposals made in the report and suggested that Albania be accorded a special fund for medicine.

Regarding the exodus, we demanded that it be intercoded by Council of Europe member countries to reach middle and long term economic agreement with Albania, that measures be taken that the Albanian nationals who have fled the country be integrated into the life of the society in the states they have gone to.

Then Dr. Kastriot Islami responded to the questions of the journalists regarding the aid for the schools, the possibilities to employ other Albanian nationals abroad, the technical aid by the foreign observers during the electoral campaign etc.

Kosovo Christian Democrats Pay Official Visit

AU0802201192 Tirana ATA in English 1033 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] Tirana, February 8 (ATA)—The Christian Democratic Party reports that a delegation of the Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosovo, made up of the chairman of this party Lazer Krasniqi and its deputy chairman Prof. Dr. Abdullah Karjgdiu, arrived on a visit to Albania.

During its stay here the delegation will conduct negotiations and will visit some cities to get acquainted with the activity of the Christian Democratic Party of Albania.

Attending the meeting held by the branch of Christian Democratic Party of Mirdita these days were also the chairman of the Albanian Christian Democratic Party Gjergj Ndojaj, etc. And the delegation of the Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosovo, made up of the chairman of this party, Lazer Krasniqi and its deputy chairman, Prof. Dr. Abdullah Karjagdiu as well as representatives of the district association of former political prisoners.

On occasion of the creation of the branch of Christian Democratic Party for Kruja, a meeting was held which was also attended by representatives of the Presidency of the Christian Democratic Party of Albania and the delegation of the Albanian Christian Democratic Party of Kosovo.

Trenchev Demands Opening of Ministry Archives

AU0602195492 Sofia BTA in English 1903 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Excerpts] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev will chair the Bulgarian part of the Committee for Economic, Industrial and Technical Cooperation with the European Community, it was decided at today's sitting of the Council of Ministers. The minister of finance was appointed co-chairman of the intergovernmental committees set up jointly with Great Britain, the United States, France, Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, and the minister of transport—co-chairman of the Bulgarian-Turkish and the Bulgarian-Romanian committees.

The situation at the Kulata Border Checkpoint is coming back to normal. The difficulties of the last ten days were caused by the strike of Greek drivers and the blockade of the main road. Both the Greek and the Bulgarian side let pass all types of transport vehicles across the border.

The government considered the results of the visit by the Ukrainian foreign minister to Bulgaria. A decision was adopted for ratifying the agreement on the avoidance of double taxation with the government of Indonesia. The government approved the draft of the trade agreement with South Korea.

The government adopted a protocol decision authorizing Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov to present a stand on abandoning the construction of the nuclear reactor at Belene. The Power Engineering Committee is assigned to evolve and present a concept of the use of the Belene-designed equipment for other purposes. [passage omitted]

The National Assembly adopted a decision on setting up an ad hoc parliamentary commission on the problems of mountainous areas. [passage omitted]

Today the Confederative Council of the Podkrepa Labour Confederation approved the report of the commissions making preparations for the second congress of this trade union organization. It is scheduled for February 8-11. The delegates are 800, there will be guests from 25 international trade union organizations, the accredited journalists will be about 180, it was announced at today's press conference of Podkrepa.

A letter sent to Interior Minister Yordan Sokolov by Podkrepa leader Konstantin Trenchev was also made public at the press conference. In it the trade union leader asks for publishing the archives of the Ministry of the Interior. The reason for Dr. Trenchev's request are the allegations that he was connected with the State Security. [passage omitted]

Assembly Ratifies Romania Enviroment Convention

AU0702094692 Sofia BTA in English 0858 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA)—Today parliament ratified the convention on environmental protection between the governments of Bulgaria and Romania which was signed on December 9, 1991 in Sofia.

The convention considers all environmental problems of mutual interest: The pollution of the Danube, the transborder air pollution and the problems of nuclear power engineering. The convention is automatically renewed if after its expiry its discontinuation is not demanded by any of the sides. It was pointed out that the convention establishes a mechanism for long-term settlement of the problems.

The government started working on the convention, the minister of the environment, Mr. Valentin Vasilev, told parliament today. A commission was appointed which is to operate along the border. Talks on mutual control are held with a Romanian delegation which is on a visit here. A project for the improvement of the environmental conditions in Ruse (northeastern Bulgaria) is being carried out.

Customs, Import Duties on Foreign Aid Abolished

AU0702180992 Sofia BTA in English 1546 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 7 (BTA)—The government has approved an amendment to the Customs Act enforcement regulations, which will take effect in a few days. It exempts juristic persons from custom and other duties upon receiving foreign aid of any type and in any quantity.

Also exempted from duty are juristic persons in the sports, scientific and research-and-development line of business, goods received by foreign postgraduate students, university and school students, experts, people employed in transportation and Bulgarian representations and organizations abroad.

The Foreign Aid Agency Act, the Act on the Autonomy of Higher Educational Establishments and other statutory legislation regulate the duty-free import of goods for humanitarian, scientific, research and development, and other purposes.

The Customs Chief Department has submitted to the government a proposal to review the statutory legislation on preferential duties and tax concessions to foundations, students' cooperatives, etc.

According to the Ministry of Finance, the Customs Chief Department is drafting an updated version of the duty free zones decree.

Land Act Arouses Parliamentary Controversy

AU0702131192 Sofia BTA in English 2131 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—Today the Bulgarian parliament opened stormy debates on the bill amending the Land Act adopted by the previous parliament a year ago. The parliamentary committees had discussed four bills on the Land Act amendment.

According to the bill under consideration, joint enterprises with foreign participation below 50 percent will have the right to acquire agricultural land. Bulgarian citizens permanently residing abroad are also entitled to acquire land without being obliged, as envisaged in the Land Act, to hold their property for a period of three years after coming into legacy. MP's [member of parliament] of the opposition Socialist Party raised objections against these provisions.

There was a dispute over the fate of the cooperative farms set up in the 1950's by the Communist Party. The ruling Union of Democratic Forces stands for their elimination. The Socialists are for preserving the cooperative farms.

Under the bill there will be no restrictions as to the amount of land Bulgarians can possess. The Movement for Rights and Freedoms, defending the interests of Bulgarian ethnic Turks and Muslims, stands for keeping the clause under which "a household can own no more than 30 hectares of land, the maximum being 20 hectares in intensive agricultural areas."

The so-called temporary-use lands are also a controversial issue. These are pieces of land expropriated by the state and given out to people to use. Now users want to buy the land at prices fixed by the government. Their actual owners want their land back. Yesterday there were two parallel meetings in front of the building of parliament making two opposite demands: Of actual landowners and of "temporary" users of land.

BSP Attacks Government's Economic Record

AU0602153692 Sofia BTA in English 1408 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Sofia, February 6 (BTA)—About ten days before the completion of the government's first 100 days, it is still being subjected to the devastating criticism of the shadow cabinet of the opposition Bulgarian Socialist (formerly Communist) Party [BSP]. The Podkrepa Labour Confederation, an influential trade union organization, persistently demands the resignation of the two economic ministers, Minister of Finance Ivan Kostov and Minister of Industry and Trade Ivan Pushkarov.

"We need a policy of economic recovery," the economist Mr. Stefan Stoilov, former minister in one of Mr. Andrey Lukanov's Socialist cabinets, told a press conference today. In his opinion, a new raise of prices is inevitable. He criticized Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov for having not elaborated on the measures the government intends to take to encourage production in his statement on the national television a week ago. Parliament passes restitution bills and the structural readjustment was put off again: That was Mr. Stoilov's main charge against the SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] government.

The government was also criticized for the growing rate of criminality and for the poor condition of the environment.

The economic team was charged with presumptuousness and inertness, with subservience to monetarism, with separating the economy from the state and with inadequate reaction to the economic problems.

BZNS-United on Establishment of Cooperatives

AU0702171592 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 4 Feb 92 p 1

[Text] At its regular session on 3 February 1992, the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union-United [BZNS-United] heard information on the organizational and technical work completed before the congress. The most important stage of the accountability-election campaign, the municipal conferences, is over and was successful. The okrug delegates' meetings lie ahead of us. Members of the future Supreme Union Council will be elected at these and candidates will be nominated for the new Control Auditing Council.

Problems were discussed pertaining to the establishment of local agrarian cooperatives and the participation of the Allied Agrarians in this process were discussed.

The recommendation by many of the BZNS-United's members for the newspaper ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME to come out on Monday instead of Saturday came up for discussion. It was decided that this matter would be looked at in more detail in conjunction with the editorial board.

Small Parties Form Union for National Salvation

AU0702175792 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Feb 92 p 2

["DUMA PRESS" report]

[Text] At an opposition meeting held in Sofia's Southern Park on Saturday 1 February, it was announced that the nine small parties that supported the candidates' team of Vulkanov and Vodenicharov in the second round of the presidential elections had united to form a Union for National Salvation [Suyuz za natsionalno spasenie]. The Sofia citizens who gathered to express their dissatisfaction with the new rulers numbered at least 1,500—ten times more than the number at the previous meeting.

Speakers at the meeting once again commented on the trend toward restoring the old one-party system by merging state and party power. It was again stressed that

the present president is a hostage of the Rights and Freedoms Movement and Dr. Trenchev, who in Rumen Vodenicharov's opinion is a scoundrel. Ludzhev, Tafrov, and Mariana Todorova were cited as examples of the new practice of appointing the president's advisers to key posts in the executive.

In Mr. Vodenicharov's view, the recognition of Bosnia-Hercegovina constitutes paying homage to the Turkish foreign policy aimed at creating an Islamic republic in the center of the Balkans. Zhorzh Ganchev was among those attending the meeting, but he declined to address the citizens.

Carnogursky Does Not Rule Out More Arms Exports

AU0702152092 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 5 Feb 92 p 2

["(JUR)" report: "A Stop to Nuclear Projects"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Slovak Prime Minister J. Carnogursky said: "Halting the construction of enterprises and plants at this stage would cause a sharp increase in regional unemployment, for instance, in the largest electric power consumer in Slovakia—"Slovak National Uprising" plant in Ziar nad Hronom. We need approximately 10 years to be able to simultaneously preserve employment and create prerequisites for production that requires less energy and is thus less ecologically harmful."

The government discussed the bad economic situation in the Slovak coal mines in Prievidza. The Slovak Ministry of Economy submitted three alternative solutions. The majority of ministers endorse the opinion that yearly production should be kept at 4 million tonnes until 1995, and then it should be cut to 3.2 million tonnes. This solution, too, would require subsidies amounting to 900 million korunas per year. The government then decided to grant a subsidy of 207 million korunas to the Slovak coal mines in Prievidza for the first three months of this year. By mid-March, a special commission will evaluate the situation and suggest possible solutions. Since the state budget does not provide for subsidies, the Slovak finance minister will submit a proposal suggesting sectors in which the spending will be slashed.

Prime Minister J. Carnogursky did not rule out more arms exports to other countries, because conversion has not yet finished. When asked whether more contracts have been signed at present, he did not give a concrete answer.

Baksay Denies Report of Tank Exports to Israel

LD0802054592 Prague Stanice Praha Radio Network in Czech 1730 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] According to the ADN and DPA agencies, Israeli radio today broadcast a report about the sale of 350 T-72 tanks from Czechoslovakia to Israel. However, Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Trade Jozef Baksay told the CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY that Czechoslovakia has never held negotiations on exporting tanks to Israel, nor did it consider the possibility. He described reports about the alleged sale as rumors. Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier denied the reports as well.

CSFR Not Told Hungary Cancelled Gabcikovo Accord

LD0802081792 Prague CSTK in English 1938 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 7 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa has not yet been officially informed about Hungary's cancelling the agreement on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros project and therefore cannot comment on it, CSTK was told today. In Budapest today, the Hungarian Government announced it will have to rescind the Czechoslovak-Hungarian agreement of 1977 on the construction of a hydroelectric project on the Danube.

The cabinet justified its decision by unilateral steps taken by Czechoslovakia (last year's decision to complete the Czechoslovak part by October 1992), and by the February 4 reply by Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa to a letter from his Hungarian counterpart, Jozsef Antall.

In his reply, Calfa stressed the need for Czechoslovakia to complete its part of the joint hydroelectric project and said the latest Czechoslovak variant for completion of the project would affect the environment only minimally.

In talks betwen Czechoslovak parliament chairman Alexander Dubcek and his Hungarian counterpart Gyorgy Szabad in Budapest on Thursday, it was proposed that a committee consisting of neutral experts of the European Community and of the two countries conduct an inquiry into how the issue of the controversial project could be resolved, and work out a report by June 30.

Work on the twin-dam project started in 1978. In 1989 Hungary stopped work on its part of the project, at Nagymaros. Czechoslovakia wants at least its part to be finished because it badly needs new sources of energy and because construction work at Gabcikovo is near completion. Hungary's withdrawal from the project cost Czechoslovakia 2,100 million crowns (70 million USd) in 1990, 3,900 million crowns (130 million USd) in 1991, and this year's loss is expected to be 6,000 million crowns (200 million USd).

In the latest variant for completion of the Danube project of January 1992, Czechoslovakia proposes to retain the canals and other parts of the power station already built at Gabcikovo. But it does not entail power generation at the Hungarian part at Nagymaros, several dozen kilometres downstream. A small dam would have to be built near Nagymaros in order to keep that part of the Danube permanently navigable.

"Environmental damage cannot be removed by cancelling the agreement," Czechoslovak minister—chairman of the federal Committee for the Environment Josef Vavrousek told CSTK today. He added that "the (Czechoslovak-Hungarian) agreement on the construction of a hydroelectric project on the Danube does not provide for the possibility of one party's withdrawal."

He noted that the first one-sided steps concerning the project's construction were taken by the Hungarian side. "I disagreed with those steps just as I disagree with the latest one-sided steps taken by the Slovak Government," Vavrousek said. He stated that 95 per cent of the environmental damage caused by the dam's construction

is on Czechoslovak territory. The Hungarian side has not submitted any constructive variant to solve the problem of the territory devastated by the construction to date, he said.

Vavrousek sees the way out of the current situation in a meeting of delegations of Czechoslovakia and Hungary to select, without any preliminary conditions and with the participation of independent experts of the European Community, "the least harmful" variant of the Danube project's future.

Blockaded CSFR Trucks Allowed To Leave Greece

AU0702181192 Prague CSTK in English 1336 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] Evzoni, Greece, Feb 5 (CSTK correspondent)—At this border crossing between Greece and Yugoslavia, officials have cleared the way for the departure of about 350 Czechoslovak trucks deadlocked since January 25. The trucks and their drivers have been forced to wait at the border because of a blockade by Greek forwarding companies, which are protesting against increased truck transit charges in Czechoslovakia. They demand cuts in the fee for transit through Czechoslovakia, raised on January 1 from 750 German marks to 1500 German marks. Czechoslovakia this year raised the number of Greek trucks allowed to pass through the country each year free of charge from 4,000 to 5,000.

Greek customs officials told CSTK they would do all they could to speed the departure of the Czechoslovak trucks and drivers.

Chairman of the trade union for the northern Greek forwarding companies, Christoforides Constantinos, who confirmed the lifting of the blockade, said representatives from the governments of Greece, Czechoslovakia and Hungary would meet with European Community (EC) officials to discuss the issue of the increased transit fees.

Havel on Parallel Between CSFR, RSA Developments

LD0802101192 Prague CSTK in English 1205 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CSTK)—The Czechoslovak-South African summit talks focused on issues of bilateral relations, the spokesman for the Czechoslovak president, Michael Zantovsky, today told journalists after the discussions between the Czechoslovak and South African delegations.

Zantovsky said that Havel praised the South African reform efforts led by President Frederik de Klerk. Havel sees many parallels between the processes taking place in the Republic of South Africa in the course of the drafting of a new constitution and in Czechoslovakia, Zantovsky added. Both sides underlined their interest in expanding bilateral relations in the economic area. They also dealt with the preparation of agreements on the prevention of double taxation, cooperation in civil aviation and tourism, and protection of investments, Zantovsky said.

Havel and de Klerk continued their talks during a working lunch at Prague Castle. South African President Frederik de Klerk said at a press conference that South Africa faces the same problem as Czechoslovakia—it has to convert its arms production. South Africa had faced a military threat in the past but now this danger has almost disappeared, de Klerk said. De Klerk was speaking in conclusion of a one-day visit to Czechoslovakia within his tour of six European countries.

Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel told journalists that apart from a trade agreement between South Africa and Czechoslovakia of October 1991, agreements on the prevention of double taxation, on the protection of investment and on civic aviation are being drafted. De Klerk, the first South African president to visit Czechoslovakia, also proposed cooperation in the fields of culture, science and tourism.

During his meeting with Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa, de Klerk showed great interest in economic cooperation with Czechoslovakia. He said a market for Czechoslovak goods could be created in South Africa, while South African investment could enter the process of privatisation in Czechoslovakia.

"We are riding on the same wave", Czech parliament chairwoman Dagmar Buresova told de Klerk, referring to the fact that both countries have been cut for a time from the rest of the world.

Czech Premier Petr Pithart said the South African provinces of Transvaal and Cape Town seem to be prospective partners for direct economic relations with the Czech Republic.

De Klerk also met here today with Slovak parliament chairman Frantisek Miklosko and Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky. Miklosko suggested that Slovakia could be a gateway for South African capital to the countries of the former Soviet Union. Tomorrow morning, the South African delegation leaves for Poland.

Havel Describes Davos Speech as 'Provocative'

LD0802113292 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Slovak 1800 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] President Vaclav Havel returned today from Davos in Switzerland. He described as a little provocative his address at the 22nd world economic forum. However, he was very surprised at the favorable reception he received. In a CSTK interview, he said at the same time that in his address he attempted to hint at the fact that the era of a showy and confidence-ridden human reasoning, which assumes that its comprehension is absolute and that it possesses a key to everything, has

ended. According to the Czechoslovak president, thanks to his conquest-based attitude to the world, modern man is in a crisis, in a deadlock.

Havel Views Upcoming Elections, de Klerk Visit

LD0902153592 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1315 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Interview with CSFR President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Stanislava Dufkova on 8 February; place not given: "Conversations at Lany"—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Dufkova] Mr. President, last Thursday you said goodbye to your guest and contemporary, South African President Frederik de Klerk. From the conversation you had with him it must have appeared to you that the problems which we are experiencing here are petty in light of various things happening in the Republic of South Africa?

[Havel] I have to say that President de Klerk gave me a bit of optimism. His country is wrestling with much greater problems than Czechoslovakia, or for that matter the majority of countries in the world. One has to be aware of this. His matter-of-factness, sovereignty, and confidence in the future has encouraged me a great deal. This is a country which has huge problems. President de Klerk is at the head of what is, in local conditions, a courageous reforming endeavor to put an end to the whole era of apartheid and build a truly democratic constitutional system. This is not at all simple in a country of so many ethnic groups and where there is so much hatred among these groups, and where constitutional talks are truly more complicated than in our country.

Despite this, President de Klerk is not one who would succumb to panic and hopelessness or complain continuously about the difficult situation. He explained with such calm his vision of the future Republic of South Africa, his notion about the timetable of individual steps which would take the country to that vision. During that meeting, I once again realized what we have been talking about only a short while ago—that we in fact are not in such dire straights and that when one has, from time to time, a tendency to whip oneself and to complain continually about how difficult, entangled, complicated, and hopeless things are, that one does not have the right to feel like this when looking at our problems from a broader viewpoint and when comparing them with what is happening in different countries. Here I do not have in mind the post-communist countries but various other countries of the world.

[Dufkova] The elections are close now and there will be a fight. Perhaps some parties and movements will drag you into their election fight. What will be your attitude toward this?

[Havel] I have been thinking about this a lot and at present I can say only one thing. I want to preserve my supra-party position, my position outside the parties. Some time ago we spoke about my decision to take this stand. Nevertheless, I am not going to be totally passive. I am not going to simply wait for the result. I am not going to follow the process silently and let it just go without any intervention from my part. I intend to get involved in a certain manner in election activities. I intend to be active in such a way that people will really have a reason to go vote in the elections, in the way which will lead to an increasing election turnout.

At the same time, I would like to contribute in some ways toward the fact that people vote after deliberation and a proper consideration, that they have an opportunity to meet candidates and get to know them—test them so to speak on their election programs and discover their capability of really guaranteeing their programs, to have an opportunity to put their questions to them, come to a conclusion of who they are going to favor in the elections. Even the current electorate system at the end adopted by the Federal Assembly makes possible a basic contact between the electorate and candidates.

I would like to be on the side of the electorate, contributing toward the electorate's real knowledge of whom they vote for, toward their awareness of how important their vote is, the importance of our future parliament's composition, and the future course of our country's political life.

I feel this is my duty and, moreover, I am not the type of person who does not get involved, who is capable of silently watching and waiting to see what will happen. I have never done this and I am not going to do it now. [passage omitted]

Czech, Slovak National Councils Agree on Treaty

LD0802220992 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] The talks between the joint commission of both national councils ended in Milovy in the Zdar district with a draft of the joint treaty. Alena Muellerova has more details:

[Muellerova] I regard today's talks as a success, said Dagmar Buresova, chairwoman of the Czech National Council. At last we have succeeded in really drawing up a draft treaty which truly corresponds to the requirements of both participating parties. If both national councils, that is both plenums, approve our draft we will finally succeed in successfully concluding the long talks, the result of which our citizens have been awaiting for a long time.

In our draft we start in the same manner as the United States Constitution: We, the people of the Czech Republic and we, the people of the Slovak Republic. This is because the people are sovereign in this republic and this is why they declare in the preamble that they intend to reshape the existing constitutional arrangement in accordance with their notions.

Chapter One speaks about sovereign republics, and sovereign national states, that it is precisely they, represented by the national councils, who can discuss and approve treaties about the internal state organization, Frantisek Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, added.

Progress in Conversion Programs Outlined

AU0702213592 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Feb 92 pp 1, 12

[Interview with Jozef Kralik, official in the Industrial Policy Department at the Federal Ministry of Economy, by Milena Geussova; place and date not given: "Conversion—Too Large a Mouthful"]

[Text] In connection with Czechoslovak tank exports, the question of "What happened to the 1.5 billion korunas designated for ammunition factories?" has become very topical recently. We visited Engineer Jozef Kralik from the department of Industrial Policy at the Federal Ministry of Economy.

[Kralik] We must go back a little into history. In 1989, it was clear that conversion was unavoidable. We noted the first significant cuts in arms production as early as 1989. At that time, the state supported conversion financially for the first time. In the same year, enterprises received 685 million korunas—and 1.2 billion korunas in 1990—to alleviate the consequences of conversion. Today, it is difficult to say what really happened to these funds. This step was not taken as a systemic measure. We tried to correct this in 1991. The Federal Assembly decided that 3 billion would be allocated for structural changes from the federal budget's reserves, of this, one-half was designated for conversion.

We were concerned with creating a system in which the money would not simply evaporate and disappear. The principles for the federal bodies to adopt when solving conversion were approved by the federal government on 30 May. Enterprises were expected to submit projects, via republican organs, in which they would ask for an allocation of federal funds, no later than 30 June. A total of 304 projects were submitted. A 15-member commission evaluated them without knowing which company put them forward. We disregarded whether the project came from the Czech lands or from Slovakia. The commission selected 125 projects submitted by 66 enterprises. A total of 1.2 billion were allocated for projects by Slovak enterprises and 0.3 billion for projects by Czech and Moravian enterprises. Contributions exceeding 50 million korunas had to be approved by the federal government. This happened in four cases: In the case of two projects submitted by the Heavy Machine Tool Enterprises in Martin, involving the production of Lombardini Diesel fuel engines and Hanomag civil engineering and highway construction machines; the project for the production of mobile working machines submitted by the heavy machine tool enterprises in Dubnica; and the project for axle production submitted by the Detva Engineering Plant in Podpolitany.

[Geussova] Is it not too late for the enterprises to receive half a billion by the end of the year if they cannot transfer these funds to the next year?

[Kralik] Enterprises received these funds in October and November. If you ask me whether this was too late or too early, I can say only one thing: State funds are not expected to solve principal problems of conversion. Enterprises themselves must develop activity in this direction. State funds are only expected to accelerate this process. I would be able to spend the money purposefully even on 31 December. The main intention was to use the money for paying interest on loans, license fees, investment invoices, etc. The funds were transferred into special accounts from which it was impossible to draw money for wages or operations. After 1991 is over, the accounts will be settled and the unused portion will be returned to the account balance of the federal Finance Ministry in the Czechoslovak State Bank no later than 25 February 1992. At the beginning of January, we tasked republican ministries with evaluating all the projects. We will discuss it soon. Only then will we draft a project for 1992.

[Geussova] You have just returned from Slovakia. What did you learn there?

[Kralik] I visited the heavy machine tool enterprises in Prakovce. the solution to conversion is very difficult there. I also visited Tesla Liptovsky Hradek. Good results seem to appear there. I think that it will be necessary to adopt a different attitude in case of some enterprises. In their case we will use regional offices. If enterprises are unable to draft and implement their projects, we should support activities outside the enterprises, activities that will create jobs. We have discussed it with employment offices and district offices. It can be done.

[Geussova] Which districts are in the worst situation?

[Kralik] The very worst situation is in the Povazska Bystrica and Uherske Hradiste district. Then, in individual cities, or their surrounding, as the case may be, such as Prakovce, Snina, and Martin, of course. In the Zvolen district, it is Detva and Hrinova, in the Czech lands, Policka, Slavicin, and some others.

Government Staff Banned From Fund Activities

AU0702201592 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 6 Feb 92 p 1

["(DO)" report: "Privatization Investment Funds Without Ministerial Officials or Ministries Without Privatization Investment Fund Representatives"]

[Excerpt] According to a measure adopted by the Office of the CSFR Government, those members of staff whose execution of a post in state administration has been found to be incompatible with their activity in a privatization investment fund must decide by 15 February whether to terminate their activity in the fund or their employment.

This information was made public yesterday by Government Office Spokeswoman Nada Petrova. According to her, this is not a law, but just a measure and it is up to each individual ministry to decide whether it will proceed in a similar manner.

The federal Economy Ministry has adopted a similar measure. [passage omitted]

Minister Miklos Updates Privatization in Slovakia

AU0702152792 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech (Financni Noviny Supplement) 5 Feb 92 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ivan Miklos, Slovak minister for administration and privatization of national property, by Ludmila Zikova; place and date not given: "Piestany Is Slovakia's Lnare"]

[Excerpts] Large-scale privatization in Slovakia is governed by the same principles as in the Czech Republic. Both governments coordinate, to a certain degree, their course of action. Nevertheless, political, and particularly economic conditions are different. Does this have an influence on the preparation for the privatization of Slovak enterprises? What is the Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property going to offer to the Czechoslovak citizens—holders of investment coupons?

[Miklos] Of the total of 1,900 centrally controlled enterprises and organizations in the Slovak Republic, 736 enterprises were proposed for the first wave of privatization, and 552 are waiting for the second wave. In the first wave, property amounting to 170 billion korunas will be privatized. Of this, property worth approximately 100 billion is planned for coupon privatization. A total of 1,400 privatization projects have been drafted for the first wave of privatization, and there is approximately an equal number of competing projects. [passage omitted]

[Zikova] You know what the quality of the privatization projects is. According to first reports, their quality is unsatisfactory both in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. Will this not jeopardize the time schedule of coupon privatization?

[Miklos] We tried our best to keep the postponement as short as possible, and this has resulted in the adoption of time-saving measures. We were able to have projects ready in November. This is why the approval process could start in Piestany on 4 December. In January, we would like to discuss all the privatization projects intended for the first wave of privatization, and in mid-February, the majority of all projects can be approved. The planned date for the start of the first wave will be coordinated with the Czech Republic.

The quality of the proposed projects made the approval process considerably longer, since it is very poor. Of the first 174 projects under consideration, only one was capable of being approved and was approved. This is why we adopt a standpoint on every project stating what should be worked out. Enterprises are obliged to resubmit finished and corrected projects within two weeks. Late changes in legal regulations, in the commercial code in particular, regarding stock holding companies were the objective reason for the low quality of privatization projects. Unfortunately, a number of subjective errors appeared, too—enterprises did not even respect the basic requirements applicable to the content of privatization projects.

[Zikova] What interest do foreign investors have in venturing into in Slovakia, and how has this interest affected privatization projects?

[Miklos] The interest in Slovak enterprises is weak in general— not only by foreign capital. This is not what we need. Of the total number of 736 basic privatization projects, only 27 propose the sale of a part of the enterprise, or the entire enterprise, to a foreign investor. In comparison with the Czech Republic, it is too little. Foreign investors appear in some rival projects, but this, too, is insufficient. This does not mean, however, that there is no interest at all. For example, U.S., Arab, and also Japanese companies are interested in Slovnaft [oil company]. We may say that Slovnaft has an international reputation. Foreign investors are mainly interested in processing industries—food processing industry, furniture, and wood processing industry in particular. We have offers for the Hurbanovo brewery, Figaro Bratislava, and the Slovamyl Boleraz starch factory, a project for which has been approved. [passage omitted]

Meciar Wants Restrictive Economic Policy Halted

LD0702122792 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 0700 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Speaking at a gala dinner at the House of Slovak Culture in Prague on 5 February, Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for Democratic Slovakia [MDS], said he favors halting restrictive economic policy and embarking upon reviving our economy. According to him, keeping up these restrictions in the range as we have done so far is not going to secure the production of income and this will lead to an even bigger state budget deficit.

As far as pre-election coalitions are concerned, he said that the Movement for Democratic Slovakia did not want to enter coalitions before the elections. The MDS chairman does not exclude a possibility of a post-election pragmatic coalition with the Civic Demcratic Party

[CDP], though he is fully aware of differences between his views and views held by CDP Chairman Vaclav Klaus.

Vladimir Meciar went on to point out some objections to the Czechoslovak-German treaty which in his view does not define precisely enough the question of financial settlements. He also rejected speculations that his movement is looking for some kind of protection within the framework of Russia's big Slavonic superpower.

Havel Most Popular Politician in Nation

LD0602141792 Prague CSTK in English 1328 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel remains to be the most popular politician both in the Czech Republic (89 per cent) and in the whole federation (82 per cent).

According to the results of a public opinion poll carried out by the Institute for the Research of Public Opinion poll among 1,320 respondents over 15 years of age at the start of last January, the most popular politician in Slovakia is chairman of the Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek (75 per cent) who thus replaced chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) Vladimir Meciar, former Slovak premier (73 per cent).

Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier is the second most popular politician in the federation (67), followed by Economics Minister Vladimir Dlouhy (60), director of the Economic Forecasting Institute Valtr Komarek (55), Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Petr Miller (55), Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus (53) and Czech Premier Petr Pithart (51).

Federal Premier Marian Calfa ranks eighth with 46 per cent and Dubcek ninth (45).

Goncz: SFRY Crisis Must Be Resolved Internally

LD0802132192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1206 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, February 8 (TANJUG)—President of the Republic of Hungary Arpad Goncz believes that the "Yugoslav crisis must be resolved by the people of Yugoslavia themselves" and has underscored that "Hungary is ready to support every change for the better." In an interview which is published in the Belgrade daily BORBA today, Goncz underscored that it was necessary "to find a compromise solution" for the Yugoslav crisis.

Goncz assessed that "one of the main reasons for the war was to secure the position of the Serb minority" in the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia. "That which Serbs in Croatia wish for themselves I wish for the Hungarians in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia," Goncz said, pointing out that he "would like the Serbian Government to realize that there are no two kinds of minorities and two different ways for resolving their position."

Serbs in Yugoslavia have always been a constituent nation, and they were that also in Croatia until the Croatian Democratic Union came to power with Franjo Tudjman at the helm, after which they were degraded into a national minority.

Contrary to the Serbs, Hungarians in Yugoslavia have the status of a national minority and enjoy all the rights that other national minorities enjoy. The majority of them, around 350,000, live in the northern Serbian province of Vojvodina. They account for slightly under 17 percent of the province's population. Members of the Hungarian national minority in Vojvodina have schools in their native language, their theatres, newspapers and magazines, and radio and television broadcasts in Hungarian.

Goncz said that "there are now around 60,000 Yugoslav refugees in Hungary" and that "most of them are of Croatian nationality," but that there were "also Serbs and Hungarians." "Around 25,000 refugees proceeded further to the West from Hungary," Goncz said. The Hungarian president urged that young Hungarians and Serbs, who fled to Hungary in order to evade mobilization summons, should return to their country but that they should "not face any consequences."

President of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians Andras Agoston also recently urged amnesty for ethnic Hungarian Army deserters, forgetting that military service is a legal obligation, and that those who avoid it, as in other countries, have to face the legal consequences.

Government Considers Abrogating Bos Agreement

LD0702193892 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Excerpt] It is possible that the Hungarian Government will be compelled to abrogate the interstate agreement concluded with Czechoslovakia 15 years ago about Bos [Gabcikovo]-Nagymaros [water barrage system]. The announcment was preceded by an exchange of letters between CSFR Prime MInister Marian Calfa and Jozsef Antall, and discussed yesterday by the government. Laszlo Gardai reports on today's briefing:

[Gardai] The unilateral, illegal steps that have been taken recently by the Czech and the Slovak side are putting the Hungarian Government in a situation of being compelled to abrogate the interstate agreement concluded in 1977. This was announced by spokesman Balazs Laszlo at today's briefing.

The government asked Minister Without Portfolio Ferenc Madl to inform the National Assembly and the relevant committees of parliament about the situation that has evolved. According to Balazs Laszlo, this issue will go before parliament on Monday. Before government measures are taken, the National Assembly's authorization will be requested, the statement points out. [passage omitted]

Smallholders' Party To Leave Coalition Government

LD0702122492 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] On 29 February, the government coalition will cease to exist, announced Smallholders' Party Chairman Jozsef Torgyan. The reason for the Smallholders' departure, the party chairman said: The Smallholders' Party has always endeavored to strengthen the coalition, but these endeavors have successively ended in failure.

In Hungary, a majority government can be envisaged only with the leadership of the current Christian-national line. The party chairman stated: At present in Hungary, there is no valid coalition agreement in force. Jozsef Torgyan also took it amiss that the Democratic Forum pushed the Smallholders' Party out of power. To justify this he mentioned that there was not one Smallholder in the Ministry of Agriculture. The Smallholders' Party constituted the coalition's largest mass base, although this party had no political or economic power.

Jozsef Torgyan announced that the coalition will cease to exist on 29 February. The Smallholders' Party will leave the coalition and has already prepared for an opposition role. However, they do not wish to form an alliance with any current opposition party, Jozsef Torgyan said. The Smallholders are preparing for a leading role. They wish to function as the first party of the Christian-national line which was only proclaimed today, but does not exist.

Party Prepared for Opposition Role

LD0902201592 Budapest MTI in English 1924 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Budapest, February 9 (MTI)—"The Independent Smallholders' Party is prepared for acting in an opposition role, while being open to a new coalition agreement

until February 29," Party President Jozsef Torgyan told a Smallholder rally in Polgar (Hajdu-Bihar County) on Sunday. February 29 was the deadline Torgyan set at the latest party board meeting for the strongest member of the government coalition, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, to give the party access to more government posts.

There are 12 MPs [members of parliament] behind Torgyan, while 33 faction members have refused him as president. Torgyan does not exclude the possibility that the 33 will continue to support the Antall cabinet even after the party has gone into opposition.

"Responsibility for a possible collapse of the present coalition will lie with the Hungarian Democratic Forum," Torgyan told the rally. He said that although his party had met all conditions set by the prime minister for resuming the coalition, Antall shows no readiness for co-operation.

Torgyan complained about Antall's ignoring him and failing to invite [him], for instance, to the recent receptions given in honour of high-ranking official guests (South African President and Prime Minister Willem de Klerk and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl). Torgyan announced that on February 29 the national board will be convened to decide on the party's opposition strategy, the key points of which will be made public at Szeged sports hall on March 1.

Cultural Committee Clarifies Media Head Question

LD0702190392 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] The chairman of the National Assembly's Cultural Committee, who is from the Hungarian Democratic Forum, told MAGYAR HIRLAP that the prime minister can recommend that the president of the Republic release the chairmen of radio and television. In this case, the head of state can only refuse the dismissal if it would endanger state order, said Ferenc Kulin. The latter believes that this move is now out of the question. At most, the appointment of vice chairmen could be placed on the agenda. He qualified the news that the Cultural Committee would like to appoint government commissioners to head television and radio as untrue.

TV, Radio Chairmen Refuse To Resign

LD0702190592 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0800 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] The chairmen of television and radio have confirmed that they will not resign regardless of attacks. Elemer Hankiss and Csaba Gombar were interviewed by NEPSZABADSAG. The television chairman refutes claims regarding serious hitches in the operation of television. On the contrary, he claims that programs are getting better and better, the number of viewers is incrasing, and the bulk of economic problems have been settled. Therefore, he does not regard the appointment of vice chairmen as necessary. In reaction to the call for his resignation, he said that as the appointment and recalling of the television chairman are regulated by law, he is not considering resignation. According to Elemer Hankiss, some people have been trying to create distrust of television artifically, for political reasons.

The radio chairman will only resign if parliament passes the media bill by a two-thirds majority. He is not ready to step down due to personal or party attacks of any kind. Csaba Gombar pointed out that he will try to promote the creation of good relations between the government and radio, but he will oppose any kind of party intersts or groups endeavors.

Defense Minister Notes Changes in Army

LD0702200292 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1100 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] This year will be the year of turnabout in the history of the Hungarian Army. Stabilization could begin, as a consequence of which a modern, well-organized army committed to the people could emerge, Lajos Fur said in a speech that lasted for more than an hour.

Assessing the past year, the defense minister said: The biggest result is that, in spite of the difficult conditions, the functionality of the Hungarian Army was maintained. The army's situation was basically influenced by the world historical changes that took place in our region last year. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops created the possibility that the independent Republic of Hungary could have an independent army.

The events in Yugoslavia demanded concrete steps. As a consequence of these, the country was compelled to make extra expenditures of 150-200 million forints monthly. It was also said that as a consequence of the increasingly difficult social circumstances, in 1991 approximately 4,000 professional soldiers left the Hungarian Army. In order to halt the process, the ministry and the general staff have begun a comprehensive investigation, as a result of which a transformation of the pay system might enter the discussion.

Lajos Fur also said that an interest coordinating council will be formed within the army this year. As in civilian life, this institution will try to resolve disputed issues that have arisen at the work place.

Walesa on Special Powers, Defense, Surpluses

LD0902231192 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1800 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Interview with President Lech Walesa by correspondent Andrzej Trojanowski in Gdansk on 9 February—recorded]

[Text] [Trojanowski] Mr. President, will you support Prime Minister Olszewski's endeavors for special powers? Last year you encouraged Prime Minister Bielecki in this respect.

[Walesa] Such a necessity has existed and does exist at a time when there is no law and the parliament needs time to work out a good law.

[Trojanowski] Do you regard these powers in economic matters, social matters, and reform of administration, as listed by Minister Balazs, as appropriate?

[Walesa] Yes, these are the directions we need. However, one must remember that all those powers will not be above those of parliament.

[Trojanowski] Mr. President, the latest news, after the deliberations of the National Defense Committee, was given almost sensational titles: Conflict between the Belweder [presidential palace] and the government. I am thinking here about the conflict concerning the army. This conflict may end up, I don't know, with the collapse of the government on the one hand and the shortening of the presidential term on the other. Is it true?

[Walesa] No, it is not true at all. We must think about it very deeply because internal and external conditions have changed so much, that today old doctrines do not fit old solutions. The press picked up one of the elements, that is, the suggestion of reorganization. According to this reorganization, there is no need for 50,000 soldiers on the border with Czechoslovakia, for example. Someone picked this up and announced that we want to disarm ourselves, that we are irresponsible.

This is a discussion, a major discussion, which has to take a different view of the Polish defense system, we should be looking as little as possible for sensation and as much as possible for creative solutions, because these are needed so that we can jointly work them out to secure the national security and at the same time avoid unnecessary expenditures.

[Trojanowski] Recently, during the meeting with the minister of justice, you offered your help, even in financial terms, for this ministry in fighting lawlessness in Poland.

[Walesa] That is what the press announced. The presidential surpluses will go for law and order. Immediately someone else picked it up, yes, it means that the president has too much money. If I talk about surpluses, this means that I am committing myself to seeking reserves everywhere, where possible; I will be making a lot of savings and cuts and I will transfer all this to the Department of Justice, to the legal department [as heard]. But today there is no money, but I am only committing myself to better management.

Olszewski Addresses Citizens on Current Priorities

LD0902211492 Warsaw PAP in English 1954 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Warsaw, Feb. 9—The national conference of citizens committees meeting on Sunday [9 February] decided to transform itself into a union of associations.

The conference adopted the guidelines of the union's statute which states that the key task of the organization is "the building of basic structures of a citizens state through work on the implementation and development of a civic society."

The conference also passed a resolution in which it appealed to the Polish president, the prime minister and parliamentarians of centre-right and peasant background for closer cooperation for the well-being of Poland.

Prime Minister Jan Olszewski in a letter addressed to participants in the conference wrote that his government will direct to the Sejm (lower house) the assumptions of the social and economic policy during the next few days. He added that the government's key economic task will be to halt the recession.

Referring to social affairs, Olszewski declared that it is necessary to more justly distribute the burden which the nation has to shoulder during the enormous operation of reshaping the country's economic system as well as of state institutions.

The prime minister stressed that broad understanding and engagement in cooperation of as many citizens as possible was the basic condition to achieve those goals.

Stolpe's Odra Zone Development Plan Examined

PM0602102092

[Editorial Report] Wroclaw GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish on 10 January carries on pages 10-11 a 3,500-word feature on Brandenburg Prime Minister Manfred Stolpe's proposed plan for development of the River Odra zone along the Polish-German border. The feature includes the following items:

1—"Analysis" by the BC Berliner Consult:

"How to Revitalize the Odra Zone?

"The border zone along the River Odra has always suffered neglect, both from the GDR and the Polish People's Republic authorities, which has resulted in its obvious economic underdevelopment in comparison with other regions in both countries. This situation could produce the effect of a certain economic vacuum, and

eventually lead to a civilizational handicap and a dangerous drop in the living standard of the region's inhabitants. The Odra zone has a high development potential. The one thing it needs to fulfill this potential is preferential economic treatment.

"This opportunity could arise with the establishment of the German-Polish Bank for the Development of the Odra Region, which would play the role of an economic advisory institution, and could also—provided it first approved the submitted proposals—grant loans for economic ventures and investment projects on both sides of the border. The bank would have at its disposal an initial capital of 500 million deutsche marks and would obtain guarantees from both governments. The two countries' respective share in the bank's assets would be as follows: 70 percent to Germany and 30 percent to Poland. 'The bank's headquarters would have to be based in Berlin; it should have a main branch in Poznan and offices in Bonn, Warsaw, Brussels, and possibly in the United States. The bank's deputy president will be a Pole nominated by the German president. The five-member management board will include three Germans, and the composition of the board of directors will be proportional to the capital assets contributed by the respective countries,' to quote the BC Berliner Consult document.

"The 'preferential zone' would reach over 100 km east of the Odra and Nysa rivers (an area of 32,000 square kilometers, inhabited by approximately 2.6 million people) and some 50 km west of the Odra and Nysa rivers (an area of 21,000 square kilometers, with a population of 2.3 million.) 'The Berlin and Dresden conurbation complexes border directly on the River Odra drainage basin, and at the same time they both depend directly on the economic development of the River Odra region and themselves influence that development.'

"On the Polish side, the 'Oderraum' would comprise the following voivodships: Szczecin, Gorzow, Zielona Gora, Jelenia Gora, and Legnica. How would the resources available through the German-Polish Development Bank be used?

"'A German economic zone stretching as far as the estuary of the River Odra should be set up promptly on the island of Uznam, which lies in the Polish territorial zone. The natural beauty of the landscape in that area should be exploited by making it attractive to West European tourists, as well as providing jobs and training opportunities to Polish candidates from the catering industry sector.(....) In order to attract capital to the area, it would be advisable to set aside a large zone for a Japanese-Korean Settlement Center.'

"The Western part of the Gorzow Voivodship is a natural tourist leisure zone for Berlin and the Land of East Brandenburg. It is suggested that all kinds of tourist service facilities be set up as soon as possible in that area, and also in Pomerania (with particular emphasis on developing a network of private boarding houses.)

"'The agricultural sector in the River Odra basin—which at present constitutes one of the major sources of revenue for the local population—will definitely lose its prominent status as the main industry of the region. The land on both sides of the river is made up chiefly of moderately fertile and light soils, which preclude intensive cultivation. It would be advisable to reduce the acreage of arable land and to concentrate instead on specializing in environmental protection. Large nature reserves should be established in place of farms. This would bring definite advantages in such sectors of the economy as tourism, recreation, and individual housing construction.

"'The timber industry will retain a certain level of importance through improved cooperation between Polish timber producers and timber processing companies (this refers to the Kuestryn-Kostrzyn cellulose manufacturing plant and the proposed packaging materials production center in Zielona Gora.)

"'Enterprises belonging to the industry and services sectors will provide the basis for all economic development and growth of affluence in the zone. It is necessary to close down the obsolete ones, modernize those which suffer structural weaknesses, and create opportunities to open new ones.(....) Every opportunity must be taken to exploit uncompromisingly the low land prices and labor costs.'"

"The Following is a List of Suggested Modern Technology Centers in the Odra Zone

"Szczecin—a modern food processing complex with latest technology and facilities, mainly for fish processing;

"Zittau—a center for the manufacture of textile fibers;

"Rothenburg—A 'high-tech' industrial center;

"Schwedt—a research and manufacturing complex for the production of industrial hydrocarbons;

"Legnica—manufacture of machines for the food processing industry;

"Guben-Gubin—a research center to investigate new technologies for the manufacture of vehicle fuel from rapeseed oil and production of packaging materials from potato starch. 'Within the framework of corresponding schemes for the management of waste materials it is necessary to ascertain whether it might not be advantageous to process and recycle waste materials from the Berlin and Dresden conurbations at waste sorting and processing centers situated along the River Odra'

"Frankfurt an der Oder or Slubice—a joint German-Polish trade and shopping center (including provision of customs depots for Polish traders, to eliminate the necessity of their traveling to Berlin), and also a data processing center for the German capital, Berlin;

"'It is necessary to modernize and expand infrastructure facilities along the River Odra. The FRG Government and the governments of individual laender have already initiated the preparation of major programs in this sphere. The Development Bank should plan the construction of essential investment projects for the region as a second dam on the River Odra near Malice or a new freeway network on the Polish side to link the Scandinavian countries with Prague.'

"Environmental protection will include conservation measures to protect the water in the Odra and Nysa as well as to counteract air pollution. It is imperative that lignite extraction and exploitation be reduced. Closure of existing strip mines will create opportunities to build new residential estates and recreational facilities. New power stations must be set up using alternative fuels.

"'A research center should be set up to investigate the possibilities of exploiting geothermic energy sources and to provide an advisory center to give guidelines on rational and economical use of energy sources to industry and to individual householders.'

"The Development Bank should first of all promote cooperation between academic, scientific, cultural, and research centers in the two zones. A particularly important role will be played here by the European University at Frankfurt an der Oder, which should especially concentrate on highlighting and encouraging the Polish side's potential in this area. Ideally, it could become an important art restoration and conservation center catering for works of art and historic buildings in the area, as well as promoting the work of local artists and craftsmen.'"

2—Interview with Andrzej Szumowski, director of the Central Planning Office's Regional Planning Bureau in Wroclaw: "The Knife Springs Open in Your Pocket Only at First Reading":

"GAZETA ROBOTNICZA: How did you obtain a copy of the Stolpe Plan?

"Szumowski: I asked Minister Rybicki of the Central Planning Administration to send a copy to us here for an official assessment. As far as I know, our counterparts in Jelenia Gora had the document translated independently....

"GAZETA ROBOTNICZA: So what are your impressions now that you have seen it?

"Szumowski: At the first reading, you feel a knife springing open in your pocket. It is clear that the document was drawn up by a German team, not an international one, as the national character of its authors made itself evident in the text. However, once you allow emotions to subside, you can see that on the whole there is not much difference between our general strategy for the country's development—as set out in the Polish plans for urban and rural construction development—and the Stolpe plan.

"GAZETA ROBOTNICZA: Is economic intelligence as efficient as that, then?

"Szumowski: Current economic structures have already suggested certain concepts here, as have the existing natural conditions. We have a different approach to agriculture: Our plans proposed its intensification, whereas the Germans suggest that poor soils be afforested instead. However, when it comes to environmental protection, we do see eye to eye: Zielona Gora has eliminated further lignite extraction from its plans for the region's development and will concentrate on developing the tourist sector instead.

"GAZETA ROBOTNICZA: Do you not believe that the plan suggests a considerable imbalance which will work to Poland's disadvantage? The document's authors maintain that modern industry will constitute the basis for the region's development, but they have sited almost all research and production centers west of the River Odra, while planning their recreational areas for Berlin and Dresden to the east.

"Szumowski: I find an imbalance elsewhere: On the German side there are the two large conurbations of Berlin and Dresden, and maybe also Leipzig, whereas on the Polish side the plan fails to take account of Wroclaw, which is a supraregional center of culture, learning, and science—and which will shortly become an international air transport center thanks to a new airport that is being built there. In our opinion, we should aim to create a large center on the eastern side of the River Odra to counterbalance the conurbations on the other side. We place much importance on this point of the plan's critique.

"The Stolpe plan fails to consider the Walbrzych Voivodship or the Sudety Mountains. There was a time when these areas constituted a natural leisure zone for Berlin and Dresden. Why have the Sudety Mountains been left out of the Stolpe Plan? Is it because their forests have been destroyed? But the German document has such a lot to say elsewhere about environmental protection schemes....

"GAZETA ROBOTNICZA: It would seem that the aspect of the plan most open to criticism is the way in which it 'slices off' a 100-km-long strip of Poland's territory and thereby shifts Poland's border, as it were, to the east.

"Szumowski: The plan is too stereotyped and based virtually on a single factor: the more or less equal size of the population living on the two sides of the River Odra. In our view, other factors, such as socioeconomic considerations and elements of developmental area planning, must be taken into consideration as well. The outline of the cooperation zone should follow not the borders of the present voivodships but those of the future reorganized regions. Instead of a linear scheme, we propose a combined nodular-linear scheme, which would highlight two main regions: Pomerania and Lower Silesia. Between these two main centers we envisage six

or seven 'urban nodules,' which are essentially the same centers that are listed in the Stolpe plan, but without the rigid border drawn uniformly 100 km east of the two rivers. Our proposed cooperation border will run along an altogether different line when the decisive factor is concern for environmental protection (it could then reach even as far as 300 km into the territory of either country) and it will change shape again when the main consideration is an industrial enterprise restructuring scheme.

"GAZETA ROBOTNICZA: Have you had any reaction yet to your assessment of the Stolpe plan?

"Szumowski: We have to date received opinions from Jelenia Gora, Gorzow, and Zielona Gora. As far as I know, no detailed official Polish counterproposal to the Stolpe plan has been drawn up to date. If and when such a counterproposal is published, we will then be able to discuss specific points in it and negotiate with the Germans. But we are late with it. We are bound by the provisions of the June 1990 act on long-term environmental planning projects, which did not envisage cross-border cooperation on such an extensive scale. Consequently, there would have to be a Sejm decision on the matter."

3—Commentary by Dr Grazyna Ancyparowicz of the Central Planning Administration Global Economy Department:

"The Press Made Far Too Much Noise About It

"The German proposal is a one-sided concept which is largely sketchy and undeveloped. As such, it can generate a whole range of emotional reactions from the public, including a sense of danger from the German side.

"However, a joint Polish-German commission on border cooperation matters already exists, and the so-called Stolpe plan is one of the items on its agenda. Currently it is an utmost priority that we 'open up' the border, which is why the most pressing task for the moment is to build border crossing points. Here initiatives arising at parish level are most valuable and worth supporting, because they are formulated in concrete terms.

"The method of financing future capital investment projects is the master key to the organization of the whole border cooperation scheme. We have rejected the concept of a joint German-Polish bank with its proposed 70:30 ratio of share allocation, as too unbalanced. Even a 50:50 version failed to win approval. We are now working on a concept of a finance institution—rather than a bank—to which both the Polish and the German sides will contribute equal shares of capital assets. This institution would then aim to attract other foreign capital—for example, Swedish, to build the freeway network between Scandinavia and Prague, as well as European Community capital to subsidize the development of individual regions.

"I cannot accept the accusation that the Polish side has been slow in responding to the Stolpe plan. Haste would only suggest the worst possible answer here, since the plan will certainly have far-reaching consequences. Nor can we afford to ignore the fact that the plan is regarded as a politically sensitive issue. Both sides are slowly getting ready to initiate cooperation, but the process requires time."

4—Commentary by Andrzej Glapinski, Voivoda of Legnica:

"We Are Not Ready To Give a Considered Answer Yet"

"I took part in a meeting between five Voivodas at the Central Planning Administration, at which I gave my opinion of the German proposal. Legnica Voivodship receives perfunctory treatment in the Stolpe plan as a monopoly-holder in copper production in Poland. The plan notes the degree of environmental damage in the area as well as our potential as manufacturers of machines for the food processing industry.

"Does the Stolpe plan represent a genuine opportunity for our region? Well, we still have no real concept of how the whole country should be managed; nor do we have any specific proposals for the new administrative division of the country. In this situation, how can we answer the question of what we want from our neighbors? Everything seems to suggest that our new administrative region will comprise four voivodships in Lower Silesia. However, the Odra cooperation zone envisages only the Jelenia Gora and Legnica Voivodships. Who can say how far this will disrupt the future functioning of the new southwestern region?

"It seems that the most sensible proposal for the intermediate stage of the negotiations would be to appoint a Regional Development Agency in each of the four voivodships of the Lower Silesian region and then to set up between them a joint holding company to coordinate all the various economic ventures in Lower Silesia. Until this is done, our side can produce no equal partner for talks with the German laender."

Leaders Comment on Local Election Prospects

Iliescu Predicts Stability

AU0902185692 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] President Ion Iliescu cast his vote this morning at Bucharest polling station No. 116. Answering a reporter's request, he called today's ballot an important political event in our country's life designed to ensure greater stability and more normal relations among ourselves.

Minzatu Notes Step Toward Democracy

AU0902170292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1535 GMT 9 Feb 92

["Local Polls in Romania—Statements: Ion Minzatu, chairman of the Republican Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/2/1992—We hope that February 9 will mean a first step towards winning the battle for a democratic Romania. Along this line, it is extremely important that the people, even if they made a mistake this time, will not make a mistake in May-June when the general elections are held. Because Romania's higher structure and Romania in the following eight-ten years will be as Romania of today is being built with its local infrastructure.

We believe Romanians have come to reason and today, the day of Saint Nichifor, the day of victory in Orthodoxy, will be a victory for the whole people.

Coposu Hopes for 'True Democracy'

AU0902171892 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1629 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Statement by Corneliu Coposu, chairman of the Christian and Democratic National Peasant Party; place and date not given]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/2/1992—We hope the administrative elections held today will be a first step forward towards removing the communist structures maintained in administration and replacing the administration with able, fair people, boasting a flawless past, who are fine administrators. I say a first step as the true structures, those to lead to a credible and representative Parliament, will be created after the legislative elections to be held late May or early June.

We hope these elections will not be smeared with acts of violence and fraud, which we faced during the previous elections. As a matter of fact, this is the sole clause for Romania to acquire some measure of credibility and to be able to aspire to true democracy and privatization. Although we could note a wide range of electoral abuses on a local plane there have been no serious inadvertencies so far and we hope today will be a quiet day proving that we are heading for civilization.

PAC: Elections Show Alternative

AU0902155692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1457 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 9/2/1992—In a statement to a ROMPRES writer on Sunday [9 February] at noon Civic Alliance Party [PAC] Chairman Nicolae Manolescu said the results of the elections would prove there was an alternative in Romania. "Two years ago massive numbers of voters headed in one direction alone. Now, no matter the results, votes will be generally divided in two: the National Salvation Front alone or together with its satellites on one side and the Democratic Convention on the other side. This is clear at least in some of the areas of the country. Which will show the two possible directions for Romania's development in future."

Pointing out that the priority target of the Civic Alliance Party in the period to come was the stabilization of democracy, Mr. Manolescu opined that the focal point was to create the idea of alternative in the people's minds.

Police Prevent Fraud Attempt in Satu Mare

AU0902173792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1658 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/2/1992—Taking action to ensure the observance of the electoral law stipulations, the Police Inspectorate of Satu Mare County discovered that citizen Iosif Carol Draveszky, clerk at the Satu Mare County branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, member of the Electoral Commission of Satu Mare Municipality, had stolen from the publishing house nine polling bulletins, seven of them for mayor and two for municipal councillor. He gave one of each kind of them to Francisc Pecsi, deputy of Satu Mare on behalf of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, who xeroxed them. On February 7 Deputy Francisc Pecsi waited at the airport for one of the foreign observers accredited for the local polls in Satu Mare, accompanied him to the hotel and gave him one xerox-copy of each bulletin. The foreign observer presented those bulletins to the county prefect, the president of the County Tribunal, the Municipal Electoral Commission and the political formations he visited, proving by that that electoral frauds were possible.

The checks made by the police organs showed that Iosif Carol Draveszky had given the chairman of the polling section another 500 polling bulletins for the office of mayor. The intervention of the authorities allowed the withdrawal of those bulletins.

UDMR Rejects Accusation

AU0902200492 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1935 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/22/1992—A communique sent to the ROMPRES news agency by the Satu Mare branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania (UDMR) shows that the UDMR delegate in the Electoral Commission in Satu Mare, Carol Dravecczky, in his capacity as member of the commission, had got directly from the publishing house—he had not stolen them as the released news item said—to use them for the electors' information. Those bulletins had not the checking seal, therefore they could not be used in the elections. Also false is the assertion according to which those bulletins had been multiplied. We mention that the bulletin copies having no checking seal have only informative value.

Taking into consideration the aforementioned, being no possibility of electoral fraud, existing only bulletins with no checking seal, the Satu Mare branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania categorically rejects any tendentious accusation concerning the intention of an electoral fraud and protests against the release during the elections of such an unchecked news item meant to influence the final result of the poll.

In connection with the specifications made by the Satu Mare UDMR branch, the Central Election Commission specified, in its turn, that—in keeping with Art. 43 in the election law—the polling bulletins for the electors' information were published at the election constituencies and they had to bear the notice "approved and annulled" signed by the chairman of the constituency election commission.

Rioters Disrupt Voting in Sapinta Village

AU0902160092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1523 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/2/1992—Local elections are under way all over Romania with one exception—the Commune of Sapinta, Maramures County (lying in the northern part of the country). Local police sources say partisans of the former mayor, Toader Stetca, who was disqualified as a candidate for mayorship by the country tribunal, opposed the opening of a polling station there and the organization of balloting with another candidate. On Friday [7 February] they disconnected the local phone exchange and in the evening, according to local sources, they set ballot papers on fire. Acts of violence occurred overnight with the pro-Stetca grouping attacking Ioan Turda, the nominee of the other grouping. The latter was taken to hospital with knife wounds.

On Saturday [8 February], Mr. Liviu Pop Coman, chairman of the polling station bureau, and Gheorghe Bucea went to Sapinta but they were prevented from reaching the mayor's office by groups of riotous citizens.

In a communique released in Bucharest today the National Salvation Front (FSN) protests against that anticonstitutional gesture and requests executive bodies in charge to level penalties at all those guilty of the respective situation, in line with the local election law. At the same time, the FSN demands that people in the administrative leadership of the county, the prefect and other decisionmakers be drastically penalized on an administrative line.

Furthermore, the FSN expresses its belief that measures would be taken for local elections to be held in Sapinta as soon as possible.

Magyar Leader Predicts Local Election Prospects

LD0702185792 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0545 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Telephone interview with Geza Szocs, vice president of the Democratic Federation of Magyars, by unidentified correspondent in Strasbourg on 6 February—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] There will be local authority elections in Romania on Sunday [9 February]. The prospects, chances, and possible situation after the elections constituted the subject of the following conversation with Geza Szocs, national vice president of the Democratic Federation of Magyars in Romania [RMDSz], whom I managed to contact by telephone in Strasbourg, where he spoke twice yesterday at the Council of Europe session. The other members of the Romanian delegation immediately and sharply dissociated themselves from what had been said at that venue.

[Szocs] I contributed to the debate on minority rights, where I had the opportyunity to support the proposal of General Secretary Lalumiere that a committee dealing with minority arbitration be created within the Council of Europe. I indicated the burning problems that arise in present-day Romania, and that might require this kind of court of arbitration. I mentioned the occurrence in Romania, which was entirely unusual in modern law, that the mayoral candidate of one of the parties,—the RMDSz candidate for mayor of Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures]—was compelled to withdraw by means of a simple court verdict. [passage omitted] I added that the appeal of the national chief prosecutor was rejected by the Marosvasarhely court of law.

[Correspondent] if I am correct, the candidate for mayor of Marosvasarhely was not the sole one who was pushed out of the contest in this manner. To what extent does this reduce the chances of the RMDSz in the local authority elections?

[Szocs] In the localities where the proportion of the population is approximately half and half—for example, Marosvasarhely, where the results will be very close—this balance could be swung by actions or tricks such as leading large numbers of soldiers to those places and letting the soldiers vote where they happen to be. We must face up to the fact that the state power still exists

with means which, in part, are legal, and which, in part, are illegal, such as getting rid of the mayoral candidate.

[Correspondent] What is at stake in these elections this Sunday?

[Szocs] If I were cynical, I would say that there is not really a lot at stake, since the new Romanian Constitution says that the prefect, the county chief, is appointed by the government anyway. Therefore, the local authorities, the mayors, the self-governments, or whatever we call them, will not have the scope of authority or competence as is customary in a Western democracy. The country chief will decide everything. This is an official who will be appointed by the government. The other positions will be nominal and rather symbolic.

Nonetheless, it is possible to take a significant step toward the introduction of the spirit of democracy, and genuine self-government, at least in the villages where an unequivocal opposition victory can be expected.

I might add that some thing that negatively influences the results of the elections is that they have not broken with the practice we have demanded since the overthrow of the Ceausescus. The Magyar villages forcibly annexed in previous decades to Romanian majority villages should be allowed to separate. I will give you an example: An 800-strong Magyar village was annexed to an 1,500-strong Romanian village, so they are regarded as a joint community. This is obviously a situation in which the Magyar mayoral candidate cannot count on success, since a candidate form mayor or council member who is nominated by the other village, by the larger Romanian village, will be victorious.

[Correspondent] In 1990, when Romania last went to the ballot box, the Front's victory in those elections was crushing.

[Szocs] Yes. Now, as regards what kind of success the Front will be able to register, this is very difficult to judge. I would be surprised if it registered less than 40 percent, or if it registered more than 55 percent [passage omitted] The Front has obviously weakened. It cannot expect a majority exceeding two-thirds, which it has had.

[Correspondent] Will the local authority elections stabilize romanian internal politics in some manner? [passage omitted]

[Szocs] I would not dare to state this unequivocally. First, we will enter another crisis period, meaning the several months of preparation for the parliamentary elections. This could lead to battles, manipulations, tricks, or mechanisms to influence the masses, about which I do not even like to think. Apart from this, in certain towns where the ethnic tension has been greatest to date, such as Marosvasarhely, it is certain that the current election result will be such that about half of the town does not agree with it.

Hungarian Leaflets Discourage Voters

AU0902170092 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1618 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/2/1992—Leaflets were posted in districts in Tirgu Mures reading "Hungarians, beware. Even if he wins the elections, Laszlo Pokorni, a candidate for mayorship in the municipality, will not be validated. Members of the 'Vatra Romaneasca' Union did not contest him deliberately as they hold compromising documents on him. Let us not leave room for manipulation. The only solution is not to go to the polls. Consequently, they, too, will fail to get the necessary number of votes, which will mean a second ballot, when we can have another nominee for mayorship whom the 'Vatra Romaneasca' will not be able to contest." The xeroxed leaflets are in Hungarian.

Asked about the leaflets, Deputy Laszlo Borbely, chairman of the Mures County branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, told a ROMPRES writer: "We believe this is an act of diversion that will bear no fruit. We hope to find the diversionists and to punish them according to the law."

Election Voter Turnout Estimated at 55 Percent

AU0902203792 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2000 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/2/1992—Started at 0600 hours [0400 GMT] in the morning, the local polls in Romania for the future mayors and councillors of communes, towns and municipalities were held in a quasi-apathetic atmosphere. At 2000 hours, therefore with only one hour before the closing of the polls, the percentage of the turnout at the polls was just a little over 55 per cent. The lowest percentages registered in Timis, Giurgiu and Vilcea Counties—about 45 per cent, and the highest in Tirgu Mures, Harghita and Covasna Counties—over 65 per cent.

The small participation of the voters in the polls is caused especially by the situation of the Romanian economy, marked by a grave subproduction crisis with serious consequences upon the standard of living of the citizens affected by galloping inflation, characterized by a dramatic rise of prices at consumer goods and a deep decrease of incomes.

Election Results Not Expected Before 11 Feb

AU1002090692

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian at 0500 GMT on 10 February carries a 7-minute Tudor Stanciu report from the Central Electoral Commission on yesterday's local elections. Stanciu says that "there is nothing new to report" at this time, that "balloting ended at 2200 GMT throughout the country," and that polling stations have begun the "counting of votes."

Tudor Stanciu interviews Judge Adrian Nitoiu, member of the Central Electoral Commission, about the work of the electoral commissions. He says that the "establishment of balloting results is in its final stage," that this "operation has proceeded under favorable conditions," and that the Central Electoral Commission "did not note any irregularities in establishing the balloting results."

Asked when he thinks the election returns will be known, Nitoiu says that "the first results will be known by the Central Electoral Commission tomorrow." In connection with a possible second ballot, Nitoiu explains that a second ballot will be required if the turnout is less than half plus one in a given constituency and that such elections will be organized two weeks later by "using the same list of candidates and the same electoral lists." He emphasizes that in this case, "the election is valid, regardless of the turnout."

Polls Marked by 'Quasi-Apathy'

AU1002120992 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1108 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/2/1992—The elections for mayors and councillors of Romania's villages, towns and cities which began at 0600 a.m. [0400 GMT] on Sunday [9 February] were contested in an atmosphere of quasi-apathy. At 0800 p.m. [1800 GMT], one hour before closure a little over 55 percent of the electorate had reported to the polls. The lowest turnout was in the counties of Timis, Giurgiu and Vilcea—around 45 percent—with the highest being recorded in the city of Tirgu Mures and in the Counties of Harghita and Covasna—more than 85 percent.

The explanation is largely the state of an economy in the throes of underproduction which affects living standards and fuels inflation that has already been running high as a result of dramatic price rises, political analysts say.

The leading contenders in the elections were the National Salvation Front, the Democratic Convention (which includes several large opposition parties), the Democratic Agrarian Party and the Romanian National Unity Party, with the political spectrum ranging all the way from leftist, centrist, centre left and centre-right to rightist even extremist factions of various shades. It is that fact that was responsible for a state of confusion of the electorate and its inability to prefer one party to another, which would be just another explanation for the low turnout.

Most of the political leaders who went to the polls in Bucharest showed guarded optimism over the election returns and did not rule out a second round of voting in several cities and towns.

As concerns the virtual leaders of the contest here again political leaders were cautiously optimistic. None of those questioned by ROMPRES journalists at polling stations ventured an opinion, although, many of them agreed that the elections were a test case for the electorate to break with the past, with the over 45-year old [passage indistinct].

Partial Results Released

AU1002154592 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1521 GMT 10 Feb 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 10/2/1992—Here are some data given by the Central Election Commission concerning the results of the February 9 local polls in Romania: In Neamt County, for the office of councillor for 31 communes out of a total of 74 communes, the National Salvation Front got 209 seats (47.6 percent), Agrarian Democratic Party—70 (15.5 percent), Democratic Convention—68 (15.5 percent), Ecological Movement—25 (5.7 percent), etc. Thirteen mayors belonging to the National Salvation Front were elected, four mayors on behalf of the Agrarian Democratic Party, four mayors on behalf of the Democratic Convention.

In Vilcea County, in 25 localities of the county mayors were elected on behalf of the National Salvation Front, and one mayor was elected in a settlement on behalf of the democratic left.

The first results in Bihor County show that 20 mayors were elected on behalf of the National Salvation Front, 6 mayors representing the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania, 3—National Union Party of Romania, 2—the Democratic Alliance and one—the Agrarian Democratic Party.

A second ballot for the office of mayor seems to take place in Cluj County for the candidates belonging to the Democratic Convention, the National Union Party of Romania and the National Salvation Front.

In a large town of Romania—Craiova—a second ballot is to take place between the candidates of the National Salvation Front and the Democratic Convention. Another ballot is also to be held in Arad between the candidates belonging to the National Salvation Front and to the Democratic Convention.

According to the first data offered by the county electoral commissions, a second ballot is to be held in many localities all over the country both for the office of mayor and for the office of councillor because no candidate has acquired the necessary half-plus-one votes.

International

UN Security Council Adopts Resolution on SFRY

LD0702222292 Belgrade TANUG in English 2118 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] United Natcins, Feb 7 (TANJUG)—The UN Security Council today adopted a new resolution on the Yugoslav crisis, indicating the possibility of the beginning of a peace operation in Yugoslavia.

The UN Security Council called on UN Secretary General Butros Butros Ghali to accelarate preparations for the peace operation in Yugoslavia so that UN peacekeeping forces could be sent in as soon as the Security Council authorises deployment. The UN Security Council approved Butrus Ghali's decision to reinforce the 50 UN liaison officers, currently present in Yugoslavia, with additional 25 military experts.

Observers here assess that the new resolution practically opens a process which could soon result in the sending of 10,000 peacekeepers to Yugoslavia. The deployment of UN peace-keepers in Yugoslavia is part of the UNPA [United National Protected Areas] operation which is to ensure a peaceful settlement of the Yugoslav crisis and enable further negotiations between the representatives of the Yugoslav peoples within the Brussels conference on Yugoslavia.

U.S. Ambassador to the UN Thomas Pickering, who chairs the UN Security Council in February, has said the UN Security Council will launch a new action as soon as the last obstacle is eliminated for the peace mission to start, most probably as early s next week.

The UN Security Council in today's resolution lent firm support to the efforts of the UN secretary general and his special envoy for Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance to eliminate the remaining obstacles to the beginning of the peace mission. The UN Security Council expressed concern about the fact that not all sides in the conflict had unconditionally accepted a peace plan for Yugoslavia.

The objection primarily applies to Milan Babic, leader of the Serb Krajina, a predominantly Serb-populated region in Croatia.

The resolution preambule set out that yesterday's letter of Croatian President Franjo Tudjman had eliminated one of the obstacles to the deployment of UN peacekeepers. In his letter yesterday, Tudjman informed the UN that he accepted the UN peace plan.

During the consultations for the session, at which the resolution was adopted, French ambassador Merimee proposed that the UNPA peace operation should start today by a decision on the so-called parital deployment of UN troops in Yugoslavia, that is in the areas over which no disagreements exist as it is the case with Krajina.

Russia, Belgium and Austria supported Merimee's proposal. However, the proposal was not adopted because of a prevailing view that the deployment of UN should be preceded by firm guarantees of all sides, including Krajina leader Babic, for an unconditional acceptance of the proposed peace plan.

German Envoy Arrives for Economic Talks

LD0702182192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Committee [FEC], today received German ambassador Hansjoerg Eiff. During lengthy talks they discussed the FEC activities to revive the interrupted economic relations in the country and efforts to maintain the cease-fire and establish a lasting peace.

It was jointly assessed that all responsible factors in the country and the world must make every effort so that the UN peacekeeping forces arrive as soon as possible and so the work of the peace conference on Yugoslavia can resume with the participation of representatives of the federal government.

Ambassador Eiff voiced the readiness of his government to continue cooperation with Yugoslavia. Concrete measures were agreed for the unhindered continuation of economic relations and cooperation.

Interrepublic

Army Admits Giving Weapons to Serbs in Bosnia

AU0602164392 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 1 Feb 92 p 7

[HINA report: "The Army Armed the Serbs"]

[Text] Zavidovici—At the demand of the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community, the news conference in the Zavidovici Communal Assembly discussed the arming of the Serbian people in the local community of Dolac on 28 January. They were armed by the Yugoslav Peoples Army unit from the "4 July" barracks in Doboj.

It was established that the Army has admitted arming the so-called Serbian volunteers. This has been documented by the minutes, as well as by the eye-witness testimonies, of the Zavidovici Public Security Station employees. It was pointed out that, according to military territorial organization, Zavidovici does not come under the jurisdiction of the military authorities in Doboj, but under the jurisdiction of the Zenica Military District. In the light of this fact, this type of armament is even more indicative. It was also pointed out at the news conference that the Serbian population in the local community of Gostovic was recently armed in a similar fashion.

The representatives of the Zavidovici Communal Assembly visited Doboj and held talks with the commander of the barracks, Lieutenant Hadzic, and with Major Corluk, who confirmed that they had handed the arms over to the Serbian population of Dolac in order to "fill the ranks of its volunteer squad." The volunteers from Dolac did not go to the barracks, but kept the arms at home. The Muslim and Croatian population was upset by the arming of the Serbs in Dolac. Demands were made for the commander of the Doboj barracks to come to Zavidovici in order to explain the arming of only one nation.

Bosnian, Serbian Economic Blockade Continues

AU0702204292 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Excerpts] The Governments of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Serbia, led by Prime Ministers Jure Pelivan and Radoman Bozovic, in Sarajevo today failed to reach a definite agreement on lifting the blockade of economic relations. After the four-hour talks, which were held behind closed doors, they held a news conference. Risto Djogo reports:

[Begin recording] [Djogo] In their address to the journalists, Dr. Radoman Bozovic and Jure Pelivan in a diplomatic manner expressed their satisfaction that they held talks. They agreed that during the present time it is very difficult to define what is a purely economic issue and what is a state and political issue. The premiers of the two republican governments also stressed that a free flow of goods, capital, people, and ideas is a basis of the modern economy.

When asked directly what will happen to the mutual economic blockade, one could conclude from their replies, despite the diplomatic language both premiers used, that nothing has changed significantly. Here is Dr. Radoman Bozovic:

[Bozovic] The condition for a free flow of goods and a unified market is to secure the unity of the monetary system, the unity of the monetary authority, unhindered functioning of payment operations, and observation of the legal system. These are basic conditions for a free circulation of goods, people, and capital. [passage omitted]

One cannot secure a free flow of goods according to market principles if there is no stability and security of the monetary space [monetarni prostor], monetary authority, payment operations, and legal system.

[Djogo] Jure Pelivan, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government:

[Pelivan] Regarding the restrictions on goods, we agreed that the talks will continue and that we will seek a satisfactory solution in the next few days. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Croatia 'War Headquarters' Set Up in Hercegovina

AU0902214692 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Feb 92

["Exclusive" interview with Blaz Kraljevic, commander of the war headquarters of the Croatian Defense Force in Hercegovina, by Milovan Gacina; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Gacina] How do you justify the setting up of a war headquarters by the Croatian Defense Force [HOS] in Hercegovina?

[Kraljevic] With the occupation of eastern Hercegovina.

[Gacina] Have your people at the request of the Croatian Party of Justice and at the request of the HOS returned from the battlefields in Croatia? They are people who hail from western Hercegovina and who were fighting there.

[Kraljevic] We have not yet done this. If need be then we will call them. There is a small number of people here who came from other parts of Croatia, and this involves in most cases instructors and people who are military strategists and so on.

[Gacina] The Muslim flag is flying in front of the war headquarters. Does this mean that there are also Muslims in your ranks?

[Kraljevic] Yes.

[Gacina] What is your attitude toward Serbs?

[Kraljevic] Are you talking about the Serbs of Bosnia-Hercegovina?

[Gacina] We are talking about the Serbs of western Hercegovina, for example.

[Kraljevic] I think that we have a correct attitude. We consider them citizens of Hercegovina, and we want them to behave as such.

[Gacina] Do the Serbs in Ljubuski have problems?

[Kraljevic] No. They neither have problems nor will they have problems when it comes to us. I think that this is up to them. If they begin some activities that do not suit the interests of peace in this area, I do not know what we will do, but if they behave like normal citizens of this area then there will be no problems at all.

[Gacina] What is your attitude toward the Army, which is often identified with the Serbs?

[Kraljevic] For us the Army is the aggressor and a disparate group. As far as we know they do not have any emblems at all that present them as some kind of army.

For example, we have emblems that show exactly what we are and what we want, while they do not even have that. So they are aggressors.

[Gacina] Who finances the HOS?

[Kraljevic] In most case, Croatian emigrants abroad.

[Gacina] Does the HOS have any connection with the diversionary activities that were carried out recently in Capljina and Mostar?

[Kraljevic] Absolutely not. We do not have [changes thought] We have not fired one single bullet anywhere apart from training and practice, and we do not intend to do so. We take good care that we do not do this [word indistinct] that could lead to a possible confrontation and war, but we actually avoid this. If this happens then we will certainly be [word indistinct] ready.

[Gacina] How many members does the HOS have?

[Kraljevic] A lot, a lot, a lot.

[Gacina] What is your attitude toward the Ustasha doctrine?

[Kraljevic] I think that we agree with the Ustasha doctrine to the extent that it advocates the establishment of a free, democratic, and independent state of Croatia.

[Gacina] I see that there are some hearts here throughout Hercegovina [video shows Gacina pointing to heart-shaped pins on a map of Yugoslavia] and I see them on Novi Pazar, Zemun, and Knin. What does this mean?

[Kraljevic] Regarding Zemun, we consider that Croatia reaches as far as Zemun. We also include Novi Pazar and Sandzak because we consider that Sandzak should be and will be a constituent part of the Croatian state. That is the border of Croatia, the Bay of Kotor [video show Gacina pointing to the map]. Our formations are more or less operating in all these places. We have marked Knin because this signifies the [word indistinct] liberation of Knin.

Croatian Party of Rights Leaders on Annexation

LD0602030792 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1219 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, February 5 (TANJUG)—The leaders of the extremist pro-fascist Croatian Party of Rights in Bosnia-Hercegovina believe that this Yugoslav Republic should be annexed to the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

Davor Perinovic and Mladen Bosnjak told a press conference held at the Party headquarters in Zagreb yesterday that the Party would support the referendum on the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina (scheduled for February 29 and March 1) because it believes that Bosnia-Hercegovina is the "absolute property of Croatia, actually part of the historical and ethnic territories forcibly taken from Croatia," the Belgrade daily BORBA reports today.

Perinovic and Bosnjak underscored that, immediately after the referendum in Bosnia-Hercegovina, they would "ask for the implementation of a new referendum at which citizens will vote on annexation to Croatia," the daily says.

During the Second World War, Bosnia-Hercegovina was forcibly annexed to the independent state of Croatia, a fascist quisling puppet state formed under the patronage of Nazi Germany.

The Croatian Party of Rights urges the establishment of an independent state of Croatia within "its historical and ethnic borders" which would include also parts of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina parliament decision on the referendum, adopted in the absence of Serb representatives, is against the Constitution of this Republic, under which the Moslem, Serb and Croat nations are constituent, and decisions decisive for the position of any nation or the Republic as a whole can be adopted only by consensus.

Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina opted to remain in Yugoslavia at a referendum held on November 9 and 10 last year, and its representatives in the institutions of authority insist on a political agreement on the internal organization of the Republic.

The leadership of the Croatian Democratic Union of Bosnia- Hercegovina decided at a conference held on Sunday that the Party would take part in the referendum in order to secure the sovereignty of Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina in agreement with the Moslem Party of Democratic Action and the Serbian Democratic Party.

Croatian Democratic Union leader Stjepan Kljuic has resigned because of serious disagreements on the future status and organization of the Republic.

In Bosnia-Hercegovina, where Moslems account for 43.77 percent of the population, Serbs for 31.46 percent, and Croats for 17.34 percent, power is shared by the three national parties.

The Sarajevo daily OSLOBODJENJE yesterday reported that 16,000 members of the Croatian defence forces—paramilitary formations of the Croatian Party of Rights—were under arms in western Hercegovina, where the population is predominantly Croat.

The daily, which is published in the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital, explains that the people of this region have always considered themselves a part of Croatia, and warns that this many people under arms could "serve as a political argument in the given circumstances."

Radio Protests Transmitter Seizure

AU0602135292 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] The Ciganiste transmitter near Doboj was usurped recently so that instead of Sarajevo programming it is sending the programming of Belgrade Television. In this connection, the management committee of Sarajevo Radio and Television has announced the following:

The seizure of Sarajevo Radio and Television's transmitter is an unlawful and illegal act which represents the continuation of a policy of coercion and directly undermines the integrity of Sarajevo Radio and Television and the Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The seizure has occurred at a time when stands in and concerning Bosnia- Hercegovina are sharply polarized and at a time when in some parts of the Belgrade media a veritable campaign is being waged that is full of untruths about Sarajevo Radio and Television.

Even though our collective has been given firm assurances by representatives of the Yugoslav army and the Internal Affairs Ministry that the property of Sarajevo Radio and Television would not be seized, our teams have been physically prevented from reaching the transmitter by an unidentified army unit.

In this region, viewers have been forced to watch programs of a political nature with one-sided propaganda messages and not, for example, broadcasts from the winter Olympics, the new series of Kvizkoteka, and feature films. The management board of Sarajevo Radio and Television has therefore asked the Presidency, Government, and Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as the Yugoslav People's Army and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, to immediately allow the regular broadcast of the programs of Sarajevo Radio and Television in line with their legal powers and our earlier agreements.

Bosnian Leaders Political Views Differ

92BA0451D Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 92 p 16

[Article by Manojlo Tomic: "Never Serbs in One State"—first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] Karadzic supports a federation of Serbian states, Koljevic supports a partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Krajisnik supports a whole Bosnia-Hercegovina in a rump Yugoslavia.

The end of Yugoslavia, which occurred once and for all with the international recognition of Croatia and Slovenia, has confronted the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] of Bosnia-Hercegovina with completely new and apparently insoluble problems. The former policy of that party has been prompt implementation of the traditional Greater-Serbian national policy, whose sense is expressed by the idea "all Serbs in one state." (By the way, that idea is not that controversial; the problem is that the advocates of that policy wanted to achieve a situation in which all Serbs live in a Serbian state.) Now it is being faced with the reality that that illusion is unattainable.

In a political and historical sense, among other things, the recognition of Croatia and Slovenia represents the failure of the former, centuries-old Greater-Serbian national policy. Serbs will never live in one state again. Serbs from Croatia will never live in one state again, unless they emigrate from Croatia or are driven out of it, regardless of all the still-dangerous blunders of Milan Babic and company. That fact has also been accepted by Slobodan Milosevic in consenting to Vance's plan. That decision of his, objectively, is a historic turning point in settling the so-called Serbian question.

Under pressure from the EC and the United States, Milosevic had to agree that the Serbian question in Croatia is primarily a minority and nationality issue, and not a territorial one. He also did this under pressure from the increasingly more pronounced public mood of Serbs in Serbia, who are no longer consenting to be the hostages of the Serbs across the Drina (a completely wrong and demeaning expression for the Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina). The Serbs in the krajinas in Croatia have not realized what Milosevic finally realized, that politics is the art of the possible, and this is also how one can interpret the behavior of Milan Babic and the split among current Serbian national politicians. Svetozar Pribicevic, a prewar leader of the Serbs in Croatia, wrote long ago that the Serbian authorities were behaving toward the Serbs outside Serbia "the way that a master behaves toward his dog. When he needs its barking, he lets it off the chain. When it has barked enough, in his estimate, the master ties it to the fence and leaves it to languish."

This fate was experienced a few days ago by Babic, but Radovan Karadzic did not realize anything from this episode. Not understanding that the Greater-Serbian concept of SANU [Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts] has failed to be achieved in Croatia, he is still stubbornly trying to achieve it in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The circumstances in Bosnia-Hercegovina, however, are much more unfavorable for carrying out that plan than they were in Croatia. The Serbs in Bosnia-Hercegovina are not even threatened to the same extent that they were, possibly, in Croatia, and so there is no possibility of "persuading" them to go to war against the independence of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

There are completely reliable reports that President Slobodan Milosevic has sent a letter, not only to Milan Babic, but also to Radovan Karadzic, in which he tried to explain to him why he had accepted Cyrus Vance's plan, and in which he tried to dissuade him from his prowar policy. Karadzic reacted by no longer swearing by the leader, and scheduling secret meetings with Milan Babic and Vukasin Micunovic, the president of the Democratic Party of Serbia. A few days ago, he also visited Patriarch Pavle. The impression given by his

steps after those meetings is that he is following the policy of the Serbian Orthodox Church, which is apparently no longer satisfied with being merely the spiritual pastor of the Serbian people, but instead also wants to take over the conduct of state and political affairs, because it is openly denying Milosevic's right to represent the entire Serbian people. It turns out that the Serbian Orthodox Church is now currently closer to Babic and Karadzic than to Milosevic, and that it is actually the chief inspiration behind the policy that all Serbs have to live in one state. Consequently, it is also the chief obstacle to a democratic settlement of relations among the peoples that inhabit the area of the former Yugoslavia.

This split within Serbian national politics has also been directly reflected in the leadership of the SDS of Bosnia-Hercegovina, which has formerly functioned as a monolith. It was also reflected at the recent assembly of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina at which the "Republic of the Serbian People in Bosnia-Hercegovina" was proclaimed. It appears that at this time, there are at least three concepts within that leadership about how this republic's position can be settled. The first one is advocated by Karadzic, and according to it, a federation of Serbian states should be formed, which would include the Serbian Krajinas from Croatia, the Serbian regions from Bosnia-Hercegovina, and naturally Serbia and Montenegro, and probably Macedonia as well. The second concept is advocated by Nikola Koljevic, a member of the Presidency of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Socialist Republic, who is more interested in a partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina between Serbia and Croatia, while the third concept is advocated by Momcilo Krajisnik, the president of the Assembly, who is in favor of having all of Bosnia-Hercegovina become part of a rump Yugoslavia. Nevertheless, facing the fact that the plan for "all Serbs in one state" is unattainable, which means specifically that all of Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot become part of a Serboslavia, the commitment to a partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina is increasingly prevailing within the SDS of Bosnia-Hercegovina. This commitment is a result of a conviction that that partition can finally settle the relationship between Serbs and Croats, while this conviction obviously reflects unfamiliarity with the cultural and historical characteristics of this area, which is still only geographically named Bosnia-Hercegovina.

That policy, unfortunately, finds a suitable interlocutor in the ruling regime in Croatia, whose leader, Franjo Tudjman, feels that a partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina could satisfy "the maximum national goals of the Serbs, and ours as well." Furthermore, both sides are convincing themselves, and above all the international public, that a partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina would make possible a lasting peace in this region. All the analyses claim the opposite. At the same time, both sides are afraid of a direct choice by their peoples in a referendum under the supervision of the international community, and are consequently against such a referendum, especially a civil one. The leaders of the SDS of Bosnia-Hercegovina, those "last offspring of the Greater-Serbian bandit policy," are not consenting to a civil referendum, claiming that the Serbian people, in the plebiscite organized by their party (it is unheard-of to have a referendum by one party acknowledged as legitimate), have already taken a position in favor of remaining in Yugoslavia. They are not consenting to a new referendum because they are aware that their policy does not even have the support of the Serbian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The only thing that will remain of the present policy of the SDS of Bosnia-Hercegovina in the next few years will be small Serbian bandit terrorist gangs in the hills of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Izetbegovic: Muslim State No Real Option

92BA0456C Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 92 p 13

[Interview with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, by Ivica Nosic; place and date not given: "A Muslim State Is Not a Realistic Option"]

[Text] There is no longer any doubt that the unraveling of the Yugoslav political crisis is taking place in Bosnia-Hercegovina [B-H]. To what extent is the central republic of the now former Yugoslavia ready to face the troubles that are yet to come for it, and will it come to a halt on the road that leads to a sovereign state? Alija Izetbegovic, president of the B-H Presidency, spoke on these questions to NEDELJNI VJESNIK.

[Nosic] Mr. Izetbegovic, how do you look upon the decisions, the recommendations, of the Arbitration Commission of the European Community on holding a referendum in Bosnia-Hercegovina in order to establish the position of the citizens on sovereignty?

[Izetbegovic] In the long run, the referendum and what it promises opens up prospects for stabilization. That is why we are organizing it, because sovereignty is not an end in itself. Aside from being a synonym for freedom, independence cuts short further speculation about a division of Bosnia, and it also opens up pathways for other important aspects of sovereignty—monetary and military. To be sure, we do expect some small storms, but we think that we can absorb them by making certain concessions in the internal arrangement of B-H. Conversations about cantons are again in fashion these days in B-H.

[Nosic] Are you going back to your old model?

[Izetbegovic] Not exactly. That model was never to my taste, but I never rejected it as a compromise that would get us out of the situation in which we find ourselves. If someone sees cantons as a guarantee of equality, and if they are the price of peace, why not? Switzerland could be an example to look up to here. If we cannot imitate Switzerland in other good things, perhaps we might in

that. Copies are ugly only in art, in politics they are not, provided they are well-selected.

[Nosic] How do you look on the assessments that the Muslim people, trying to ensure its own survival by maintaining an integral B-H in the "political sense," was late in shaping its program for a nation state such as all the nationalities in these parts have so far established or even realized?

[Izetbegovic] First of all, I think that even other peoples who are our neighbors have not managed to entirely carry out their national program. What is more, the Muslim people was obviously in a specific position. There are certain historical lags caused by the objective conditions of our situation and development. In the communist system, that nationality did not even have its own name for a long time. I remember that I myself in my youth wrote at the time as an "uncommitted." That is, in the boxes of the forms of that time that is how I answered the question on my own nationality, which was, of course, shameful and represented an injustice to a large ethnic group that has lived in these parts. It later turned out that there was a people living here which had all the characteristics of a nation that all the others here have. That situation most probably brought about a certain lag in what you refer to as the national program. Another unfavorable circumstance was that we cannot form in B-H an exclusive national state of the Muslim people, because a true ethnic mixture of peoples lives here. Someone compared the ethnic map of B-H to a tiger skin, others to a picture by Pollock. Both metaphors are quite apt. In such a situation, the Muslims have been seeking the road to their own ethnic affirmation, the only one they could seek, and that is affirmation of the idea of a civil state in B-H. They thought that perhaps in that way they could achieve a historical shortcut. I am thinking here of that civil option. That continues to be our program here in B-H. You probably know that we have boasted here that we have more chances than others to arrive at a European model of a state, not thanks to our wisdom and intelligence, but simply driven by the real situation that exists in B-H. We still advocate, then, that position of the civil republic, although in that respect we have not met with understanding in some of the parties in our partnership. It seems that ethnic sentiment is more pronounced with them than it is with us, the aspiration to create small ethnic entities or several of them within ethnically mixed Bosnia-Hercegovina, and that is why it seems we will have to mark time for a while. I am referring here to the proposed cantonal system, although I continue to believe that the civil concept is the most progressive and represents a shortcut to the European solution.

[Nosic] How do you look on the assessments that "Muslim policy in B-H," by which is usually meant the leadership of the SDA [Democratic Action Party], has been operating on the principle of equidistance and that this is leading it into a passive position relative to Belgrade and Zagreb?

[Izetbegovic] I could not equate the principle of equidistance you speak of with a passive position. There is probably a misunderstanding here. What we understand as the principle of equidistance is something very constructive as I see it. Respecting, then, the real conditions in B-H, above all, the ethnic conditions, that is, the fact that we have large segments of the Croatian and Serbian nationalities in B-H, we say that we must hold to an equal position toward their parent nationalities, which are embodied on the one hand in Croatia and on the other hand in Serbia. That means that B-H will always be equally close (and equally far) from both Croatia as a state and Serbia as a state. And that it will be equally open and equally closed toward those two states, which are now neighbors. That means that if we proclaim the openness of the border with Serbia, we must also do that in the same manner toward Croatia. That is simply a principle of the equal position of the Croatian and Serbian peoples here in Bosnia. We like to say that the principle of equidistance has the force of a natural law for B-H. Any other policy leads to instability in B-H, in fact encourages centrifugal forces in B-H. This is our way of neutralizing those centrifugal forces, that is, of bringing the Serbs and Croats together around the idea of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a joint homeland.

[Nosic] If the Croato-Serbian dispute is a historical source of tension, and if to an immense extent it is refracted through the space of Bosnia-Hercegovina, how do you see a possible permanent solution that would satisfy the long-range ethnic interests of all three nationalities?

[Izetbegovic] I think that it is the survival of an independent and sovereign Bosnia-Hercegovina. I am quite certain that such a B-H is in the interest of all. There is no need to prove it to the Muslim people. It is less obvious, but certainly it is equally in the interest of the two other nationalities as well. Precisely because of the way the nationalities are mixed in B-H. Anything else leads to uncertainty and conflict. Even if some difference were resolved without conflict, by some agreement, say, a division would mean that the three nationalities, which are now equal nationalities in B-H, which, incidentally, no one disputes, would overnight find themselves in the position of ethnic minorities. That is, in the various combinations in the case of a division of Bosnia, there would certainly always be one leading nationality and two ethnic minorities. That is why our position is that the kind of B-H we have now, with certain modifications in internal structure, is nevertheless the best solution for all three nationalities. I admit that it is difficult to find a solution for B-H. This is a complicated country. Consistent application of democratic principles and European standards would quite certainly be a general remedy for most of our ills. Unfortunately, it seems that democracy is not yet highly regarded here. I am certain that by replacing ethnocracy with democracy we would overcome our problems most quickly and get on firm ground, as the saying goes. We would cross that line beyond which economic problems begin to be resolved, where the economy gets a chance to do its part of the job.

[Nosic] In view of the increasingly frequent public statements and debates, it seems that to some extent the question of the division of B-H has been legalized. What is your fundamental position on that, because the thesis of division implies either creation of a Muslim state or again an active Muslim policy to stabilize Bosnia-Hercegovina as a civil republic?

[Izetbegovic] We are unreservedly committed to the latter version. That is a policy that would lead to stabilization of Bosnia-Hercegovina as a civil republic. If we are left a choice, of course. We do not accept the creation of a Muslim state here, because that is not a realistic option. Most of the Muslim intellectuals and politicians in B-H look with repugnance on the splintering of this political space. In that respect, we are students of Europe—I hope this will not sound pretentious—and we have European views of these things. That is why we have perhaps been more persistent than others in advocating survival of integration in this region. Our commitment in the Hague talks was also consistent with that. We have always favored the survival of certain entities—reorganized, transformed on certain new foundations. We have always looked with the same suspicion on splintering and parcelization. By our lights, even Bosnia-Hercegovina is too small a space. We would like to see B-H included in some entity—at one time Yugoslav, now European, if you like, but an entity. Which is why that idea of splintering B-H, of parcelizing it into some kind of little Muslim, Serbian, and Croatian states within the present unified B-H seems like something utterly out of keeping with this moment in history. So, that is our position on that so-called Muslim state in B-H. The Muslim people and its long-term interests are suited by a civil Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is not altogether clear to some Muslims, but it is completely clear to the immense majority, especially thinking people. So, a Muslim state in B-H or to be made from B-H is not our commitment.

[Nosic] In your opinion, might a possible road to a permanent historical settlement begin where the civil politicians of the old prewar Yugoslavia, I am referring, of course, to World War II, stopped because war broke out, or in this historical phase should a solution be sought in respect for the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] borders and the creation of European standards and linkage of the new states within those borders?

[Izetbegovic] Certainly the latter, with certain small corrections. We take the present borders as a reality. Incidentally, they are not AVNOJ borders, as you say, they are the borders that were there. Those borders, with a small modification, have existed, I will not go back any further, since the peace of Karlovac in 1699. Thus, they are actually historical borders. AVNOJ confirmed them, because it was unable to find anything more intelligent. Just as we today, when we look at the map, probably cannot find any more intelligent solution. But today, both Europe and the world take these borders as a reality. As for the party which I head, I would recall that we proclaimed a "small Helsinki," which meant: Let us not touch the borders, we will rush headlong into a much greater trouble than borders which perhaps are here and there unfair. Let us see the way out in democracy, that is, that way out whereby no one will care whether he lives on this side or that side of the border, because human and ethnic rights are equally guaranteed on both sides. That, in my opinion, would be the real solution. It is not a way out for us to strengthen the state and to set ourselves off from one another with barbed wire or a Chinese wall, and prevent the flow of people, goods, and ideas. It seems that the Balkans will never get beyond its dilemmas and problems for which it came to have such a melancholy reputation.

[Nosic] In Croatia, one frequently gets the impression that many B-H politicians are inclined to react relatively quickly and clearly to certain expansionist ideas which from time to time come from Croatia, while in spite of the obvious "silent annexation" in which the Yugoarmy is keeping pace with Serbia's claims, the policy of B-H is much more cautious toward Serbia's expansionism.

[Izetbegovic] Perhaps you are partly right, but there is an explanation which does not speak against you. We simply do not anticipate an attack from that side. That is one reason. The second is that those statements seem illogical to us, because it seems to us that they directly undermine the Croatian position itself. It does not take much intelligence to realize that questioning Bosnian borders means questioning Croatian borders, and they, as we know, were questioned by the aggression that occurred in Croatia. It seems to us that the integrity of Croatia can be defended by confirming the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Or the other way about: Questioning the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina automatically calls into question the integrity of Croatia and its borders. To that extent, we were more amazed by those statements than angered. And as for the first part of your question, I would say to you only that we in Bosnia-Hercegovina have in front of us an army armed to the teeth. Hercegovina, they say, is today the largest garrison in the world. This is a real situation to which we must not close our eyes. We have in front of us, if I might so put it, a minefield which we cannot cross normally, but rather we must dismantle mine by mine, move cautiously and slowly, so that sometimes it seems that our reaction is somewhat slower or has not been energetic enough. Our commitment is quite clear that we will not remain in a truncated Yugoslavia. That has been repeated several times and confirmed by adoption of the act of sovereignty, and now by the application for recognition of independence.

[Nosic] In an interview for VJESNIK, you once said that you have to be extremely skillful and cautious, because you could have "10 Knins."

[Izetbegovic] I think with my metaphor about the "minefield" I partially answered that question. This is certainly a matter both of evaluation and assessment of

things. It is a shame that history does not allow experiment so that we could try that other way. Then both I and these critics of ours would see who was right. Again, it seems to us that we have taken as much as we could from the present position and that is that we are persistently and successfully striding toward the independence of B-H without war. If we perform that impossible task, then it will, of course, turn out that we nevertheless have played this complicated political game of chess the best way after all. That is the problem, how to arrive at the independence of B-H without passing through hell? We are in the process of performing that task. The path is obviously not a straight line, but more of a zigzag, and some reproach us for that. However, in our opinion, that is how it must go. Our objectives are clear. We want an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina, but we do not want an independent Bosnia-Hercegovina that has been destroyed.

[Nosic] You have emphasized many times that you do not see the possibility of B-H's survival in a state community that would not include what have up to now been the republics, especially not in one that would include only Serbia and Montenegro. Because the initiatives of the government of the Republic of Serbia still aim at creating what is called a small Yugoslavia, and at the same time they refer publicly to the alleged interest of B-H and Macedonia to remain in that community, what approach will Sarajevo take in the upcoming talks?

[Izetbegovic] My answer to that question can be very short. We do not accept any community that does not simultaneously include both Croatia and Serbia. Some people say that such a community is impossible for the present. Perhaps, but then there is no community.

[Nosic] How in operative terms do you see the organization and conduct of the referendum when dual government has been established in many opcinas?

[Izetbegovic] That is a problem. It is also a problem of the optimality of political behavior. We pointed out to the SDS [Serbian Democratic Party] the political harm which they could do themselves in the eyes of the domestic and world public if they boycotted the referendum or caused difficulties. It would be very unpopular and unwise on their part to create the impression that the SDS is afraid of accepting the judgment of the people. After all, a referendum is nothing other than the judgment of the people. We are not afraid and we are openly going forth to meet this, although we do not know the result. We can only estimate it with more or less accuracy. But we will leave this fateful question, which in fact is the issue of the future of this community called Bosnia-Hercegovina, to be decided by the people itself as it wishes. Whoever refuses to do that places himself in a very unenviable situation, and the world will be able to evaluate what that fact means.

[Nosic] Assessments are not uncommonly launched in public in B-H to the effect that Croatia has acted too "radically" and for that reason has paid an immense price for statehood and international recognition. Such assessments sometimes seem incorrect from the Zagreb standpoint because of Sarajevo's attitude toward the confederal proposal at one time or because of the fact that a large portion of military operations against Croatia have been conducted from the territory of B-H.

[Izetbegovic] I will begin that question from the end, expressing regret that this occurred. It is a fact that operations have been conducted from here. However, we were unable to do anything more than Croatia could do about operations conducted from the region of Knin toward the north, in the so-called west Slavonian theater. However, we did what we could, we proclaimed the neutrality of Bosnia-Hercegovina in this truly senseless war, which could and should have been avoided. A large number of young men from Bosnia-Hercegovina did not go off to the Croatian battlefield because we refused to call up recruits and mobilize reservists. This involved a large number of people who would have been up there and who, of course, would have taken part in combat against Croatian forces if they had been in the Army. Of course, our motives were, above all, to protect the lives of citizens of B-H, but that also was a matter of principle.

[Nosic] The effort of Serbia, contrary to the documents of the EC and United Nations, to nevertheless try to create a small Yugoslavia would in the final analysis result in creation of a line of division, i.e., a line of confrontation along the border of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. What political moves do you intend to eliminate that danger?

[Izetbegovic] First of all, that endeavor is not politically realistic, because it is based on the assumption that Serbia will continue or inherit the continuity of Yugoslavia, which is an entirely mistaken assumption. Serbia, like all the other states, must knock on the door of the international community and seek recognition. If it seeks that recognition, it will first have to return every village that does not belong to it if it has taken it. The international community will not allow it to take away in its pocket anything that does not belong to it. So, nothing on this side of the Drina. All who wish to become members of the international community—unless they want the self-isolation of Enver's Albania—will have to respect the rules of the game and "good behavior." And those rules prohibit taking anything by violence, by unilateral acts. That applies—why not say it—to Croatia and Montenegro as well. So, the stability of B-H and its borders is guaranteed by the consensus of its citizens, which, I hope, will be confirmed in this referendum, but also by the rules of behavior in the international community which I have mentioned. I would remind you that one of the conditions of the well-known Arbitration Commission for recognition of new states in East Europe (the so-called Badinter Commission) was the explicit statement that you do not have territorial claims against neighboring countries.

Croatian Isssue in Bosnia Detailed

92BA0451C Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 26 Jan 92 p 2

[Article by Branko Tudjen: "Like Geese in the Fog"]

[Text] In recent days there have been bitter polemics within the Croatian ranks about the future of Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Politicans and intellectuals are debating, and partly the church and journalists. Less is being said about the position of the Croatian people, even though it is quite clear that the Croats of western Hercegovina, as a united body, are in favor of annexation to the motherland. It is understandable, however, that the Bosnian Croats have certain reservations, since they do not know where the future border would go in their mixed areas, and they are afraid that many of them will be left outside the state of their parent people. The position of Croats in that republic, however, is mostly being built upon an incorrect dilemma between a partition of Bosnia-Hercegovina, or its integrity.

The opposition parties within Croatia are using this dilemma in order to accuse Dr. Tudjman, who, in their view, is in favor of a partition, and thus to score preelection points for themselves. If not points—because it is unclear with which part of the Croatian people they would gain ground through this criticism—then they are doing this in order to be against the current authorities.

Some Croatian intellectuals in Bosnia-Hercegovina—and interestingly, both Croatian intellectuals who have come from Bosnia-Hercegovina and those from the border areas of Croatia—are also opposing Dr. Tudjman's attempt to keep the Croats there from faring like geese in the fog, like the way in which Croats as a whole fared in 1918.

The former, i.e., Bosnia-Hercegovina intellectuals who are Croats, are either well-situated in the current system, or are riding on the tails of what is now the leading Muslim party, the SDA [Party of Democratic Action]. The latter, immigrant Croatian intellectuals, opponents of Tudjman's method of concern for the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, are mostly opposition politicians and the members of their parties. Among the polemicists, naturally, are also individuals obsessed with a Croatia extending to the Drina.

The problems of the Croatian people outside the Croatian state and their position are really a major issue. Of course, it would be a terrible mistake to try to settle it according to the Greater-Serbian formula—by attempting to seize others' territories. Concern for the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina is not such a case, however, nor is Dr. Tudjman—like the Serbs—trying to partition that republic. According to what he says, Dr. Tudjman feels that if there is no other way out (and it is only possible with everyone's consent), a free life should be made possible for all three peoples, the Croats and Serbs as part of their parent states, and the Muslims in their own Muslim state.

Nevertheless, if all three peoples agree to continue living in a joint state, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and it gains international recognition as such (then really no one will be able to dispute it), then once again it is essential that the Croats in that community will not be an appendage of the Serbs, or an ethnic group riding on the tails of the Muslims.

There are also much more important issues, or at least equally important (and dangerous) ones, such as the "passage of the Greater-Serbian state across the Drina." This, in fact, is an argument being used by some advocates of the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina at any cost. Another argument is that even so, Bosnia-Hercegovina will be almost completely tied to Croatia with respect to the economy and transportation.

These are simplified and schematic assumptions, like the dilemma over partition. It is necessary to be realistic, and say that the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in that case, will really be living in a different state. At its border crossings and customs houses, Croatia will not be able to divide people according to their ethnic origin and give them privileges. That will cause dissatisfaction. Even when Dr. Tudjman talks with representatives of the Serbian population, then it is also in order to find some form of internal system in Bosnia-Hercegovina that would facilitate people's ties with their parent state—unless someone thinks that in the end, some sort of alliance of independent states will nevertheless emerge from the former Yugoslavia, without customs and borders, and with a joint treasury and army. Naturally, the question is what sort of independent states these would be.

There are also many other dangers that threaten Croats if they do not insist upon previously agreed-upon rules. For example, what will happen in 10 years when Muslims become the majority? It is clear that it is for this reason that Izetbegovic is advocating the idea that in the future Bosnia-Hercegovina will become a state of citizens. It is because the Muslim parties will have a majority in the Assembly. Even though the Croats are now a state-creating people in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in a state of citizens that will not be worth much in 10 years.

One also cannot rule out the possibility that in the end the Muslims, threatened by the army and the defense industry, will consent to some form of third Yugoslavia. What will the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina do in that case?

The news media in Bosnia-Hercegovina are still not making a distinction between the aggressor and the one being attacked in the war in Croatia. There is evident coolness toward the international recognition of Croatia's independence. Radio Sarajevo reported the whole day on Jovic's visit to New York, but kept silent about Greguric's. It has been emphasized at a public meeting that Bosnia-Hercegovina will gain its independence without a bullet fired. All of this may be a success

for one policy, but along with this "without a bullet fired," it would have been honest to say "with thousands of dead Croats."

Things are complicated; of course, one should also watch out for the danger that foreign countries might think that Croatia has something against Bosnia-Hercegovina; one should also watch out for Croatian isolation within Bosnia-Hercegovina; Croatian policy must be principled, but also resolute in defending Croats' equality in that republic.

If it turns out that the peoples in it cannot and do not want to live together, and cannot reach an agreement, there are much better solutions than war and coercion. In that case, wouldn't it be better to seek such solutions than for the Croats in Bosnia-Hercegovina to become (and behave like) geese in a fog?

Croatia

Separovic, Egypt's Musa Meet in Bonn

LD0602114192 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 5 Feb 92

[Text] The Croatian and Egyptian foreign ministers, Dr. Zvonimir Separovic and 'Amr Musa, met in Bonn this morning on the initiative and invitation extended by the Egyptian foreign minister. They discussed the situation in Croatia and in other parts of the former Yugoslavia, the arrival of peacekeeping forces in Croatia, and the recognition of Croatia by the countries which so far have not yet done so.

Minister Separovic briefed his Egyptian counterpart on the situation in Croatia and Croatian efforts for a peaceful conclusion of the war and the arrival of UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia. The Egyptian foreign minister told Dr. Separovic that during the Nonaligned ministerial meeting in Cyprus the former Yugoslavia was to all intents and purposes deprived of its office of chairman [of the Nonaligned Movement] and that the Nonaligned summit will be held in Indonesia instead of Belgrade. Nonaligned countries rejected the proposal made by the president [as heard] of the former Yugoslavia to draw up a joint declaration supporting the unity of the so-called Yugoslavia.

Cease-Fire Breach in Poljane Observed by EC

LD0702184892 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] One Croatian fighter was killed yesterday and two were wounded today on the Poljane battlefield. EC observers have been informed about this cease-fire breach and demand that a joint commission be set up and that the army of occupation should explain why it launched the attack. Our Army command has suspended all its contacts with the Banja Luka Corps command until the aggressor publicly discloses the name of the officer who ordered the attack. This is why today's meeting between the warring parties in Obare was not held.

Krajina Calls for Referendum on UN Plan

LD0702175992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Knin, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The Government of the Republic of Serbian Krajina passed a decision at today's session to launch an initiative with the Krajina Assembly, which will convene on 10 February, on holding a referendum on the deployment of UN peacekeeping forces and on the republic's political and state future. According to the relevant communique, the referendum should be held in a month's time at the latest.

The communique says that the government presented the familiar stands on the deployment of peace forces—that is, on Cyrus Vance's plan—as well as its own assessments already known to the public, on the proceedings of the SFRY Presidency's expanded session. The Krajina Government noted, however, that "those who took part in this session had no insight into the contents of Cyrus Vance's plan. They were therefore unable to pass competent decisions and conclusions with regard to this plan."

The conditions under which a discussion was conducted at the Presidency session, says the communique of the Republic of Serbian Krajina's Government, "can be classified as pathological political behavior and not as a political discussion or a democratic atmosphere."

The stands and views of the government on the development of the situation and on the session itself, which are presented on three densely typed pages, were distributed to journalists before their first meeting today with Milan Babic following the events in Belgrade and the Krajina region.

One of the first questions to Babic was what he will do if the people vote in favor of the peace plan. Babic replied: "The same as always; I will go along with the assembly's decision and the will of the people," adding that he can not go against his own personal convictions.

Commenting on the support among the majority of Krajina's municipal presidents for the peace plan, in other words, for the SFRY Presidency, Babic said that such support was made under duress. However, this duress will certainly not die down after the referendum. One will no longer be able to talk about some kind of personal politics, he stressed.

During the news conference, Babic said that there is still time for talks on modifying the plan. In his view, 50 percent of Krajina's objections to the peace plan have already been accepted since the increase in the number of UN observers and since UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali's statement that Croatian constitutional and legal norms will not apply on Krajina territory. However, he

added, Butrus Ghali's statement will still have to be included in the concept of the peace plan. In Babic's opinion, Tudjman's signature on the plan and his latest statement are just for show, because if he did sign the plan, why should he make statements and interpretations later on?

Babic assessed the events in Gracac, concerning the order to ban public gatherings, as contrary to the decisions of the SFRY Presidency to ban political activity and organization in the Yugoslav People's Army. He described these activities as irresponsible behavior.

Communes Support Session Decision

AU0802202292 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] A meeting of the presidents of the communal Assemblies of the Republic of Serbian Krajina was held in Korenica today. In a statement issued after the session it is emphasized that as legally elected representatives of the communes they have the duty to represent the interests of the electorate. As the statement says, in this connection and at the request of the communal representatives and deputies in the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, we support the calling of an emergency session of [the Assembly of] the Republic of Serbian Krajina to protect the interests of the Serbian people.

At a fateful moment for the Serbian people in Krajina who voluntarily decided at two plebiscites to live in a common state of all Serbs with the other Yugoslav peoples who want to do so and have until now defended and protected these decisions with arms in the ranks of the Yugoslav People's Army, we are faced with the obstinacy of individuals who should declaratively express the will of the majority but who refuse to do this and work in their personal, self- promoting interests, which are contrary to the stand of the people who elected them.

At the same time, the statement extends full support to the stand of the SFRY Presidency and demands that the state Presidency consistently insist on the implementation of the decision on deploying the Blue Helmets of the United Nations.

Session in Glina Set for 9 Feb

LD0802213792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1946 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] Knin, 8 Feb (TANJUG)—At the moment it is not completely clear what is going to happen with the upcoming extraordinary session of the Republic of Serbian Krajina Assembly: the Krajina government, headed by Milan Babic, previously called a session for Monday in Knin, but today Krajina Assembly President Mile Paspalj announced that the Assembly session will be held tomorrow, and not in Knin, but in Glina.

What has actually happened since two days ago when the Krajina government called a session of the Krajina parliament in Knin for Monday 10 February?

In the meantime a group of Krajina municipalities from Kordun and Banija regions, in support of the UN peace plan, and Krajina Assembly President Mile Paspalj, have put forward a proposal that a session of the Assembly be held in this area, i.e. in Glina. We have learned from unofficial but reliable sources that a session of the Krajina Parliament has been called for 1300 GMT tomorrow in Glina.

In this connection the Knin-based Secretariat of the Krajina Assembly issued a statement this evening, saying that the government is obliged by the constitution to give its opinion on every issue being placed on the agenda of any session of the Krajina Assembly. The government will present its opinion at a session of the Assembly in Knin on Monday, the statement says.

The statement mentions Milan Babic's standpoint that there is no reason why a session of the Krajina Assembly should be held outside the Krajina capital.

Serbian 'Krajina Assembly' Begins Session in Glina

AU0902172592 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Our correspondent Dragan Dimitrijevic has just reported that a session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina started several minutes ago. It was convened by Assembly President Mile Paspalj and was last night deemed illegitimate by Milan Babic, president of the Republic and Government. Deputies were called upon not to attend today's session in Glina but tomorrow's in Knin.

However, according to what our reporter has been able to learn so far, deputies from the communes of Lapac, Korenica, Gospic, Petrinja, Benkovac, Dvor na Uni, Obrovac, Vojnic, Slunj, Gracac, Vrginmost, Glina, Karlovac, [word indistinct], and Sisak have arrived for the session, along with three deputies from Knin. The Assembly session, which will discuss Cyrus Vance's plan and the deployment of peace-keeping forces, is also being attended by Branko Kostic [SFRY Presidency vice president], Blagoje Adzic [acting federal defense minister], Jugoslav Kostic [SFRY Presidency member], Milan Martic [Serbian Krajina internal affairs minister], and others.

The session was opened by Mile Paspalj, president of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

We will report in more detail about the session in Glina in our later programs. This is a session at which many people think that a historic yes should be given to the arrival of peace keeping forces in areas overtaken by war.

Kostic Attends Assembly Session

AU0902201992 Novi Sad TVNS Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Dragan Bera report]

[Text] The Assembly of the Serbian Republic of Krajina unconditionally supports Cyrus Vance's peace plan. This was unanimously decided by Assembly deputies a short while ago at a session in Glina. The session was also attended by Dr. Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, and Jugoslav Kostic, SFRY Presidency member, with his colleagues, and, on the Army side Colonel General Blagoje Adzic, acting federal national defense secretary and chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army, who was also with his colleagues.

On his arrival in Knin, Dr. Branko Kostic made the following statement:

[Begin Kostic recording] After a quite detailed discussion in the SFRY Presidency, we are taking part in the work of the Assembly of the Serbian Krajina. In this way we refute all accusations that have been unjustifiably spreading among this people to the effect that we are leaving them in the lurch. We say to the deputies of the Assembly of Serbian Krajina and the whole of this nation that these are crude untruths and that we have been and will remain by the side of this people. We will help as much as we can to ensure that reason prevails and that this people and their deputies realize that we can now defend in the best possible way, with peace, what has so far been achieved with war, along with guarantees from the world organization and the Security Council and the deployment of the Blue Helmets. [end recording]

The session of the Krajina Assembly was convened by Mile Paspalj, its president, who also chaired it. Milan Babic, president of the Krajina Republic, did not appear in Glina today.

Confirming that there was a quorum, Paspalj stated that the session was attended by more than two-thirds of the deputies and that it can make binding decisions. The agenda included a vote by the Assembly of the Serbian Republic of Krajina on the deployment of the UN peace-keeping forces. I am asking you to decide on war or peace, which is being offered by Vance's plan, Paspalj said.

Taking part in the discussion, Dr. Branko Kostic stressed that all national interests must be placed above factional and individual interests. The blue helmets are now most necessary, he said, and Krajina cannot lose with their arrival. On the contrary, the Serbian people will be protected on their territory, and Croatian laws will not be valid in Krajina. The arrival of the blue helmets does not in fact prejudice political solutions that at the end of the day will be the expression of the will of the population here.

Warns Krajina Serbs on 'War Option'

LD0902202692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1850 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Glina, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—At a session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina in Glina today, SFRY Presidency Vice President Branko Kostic addressed the deputies and expressed his admiration for the bravery and heroic fighting of the Serbian people of Krajina.

An option which Babic, Martic, and others advocated a year ago proved right, and it should not by any means be called into question now, he said. However, he added, if the people in Krajina ares now in control of their territory and have managed to establish government bodies and police, then there is a question whether the freedom of the Serbs should be defended by further fighting, which can escalate, or by peaceful means.

The war option would mean a long and exhausting war, Kostic added, which would most certainly spread to Bosnia-Hercegovina, Sandzak, and Kosovo. In such a situation the Serbian people in Krajina could no longer count on the support they now enjoy because refusal of peace would isolate Yugoslavia within the international community.

In conclusion, Branko Kostic explained to the deputies all the efforts which the SFRY Presidency and all other participants in the last session of the collective head of state are making to persuade Milan Babic that it would be justified to accept the UN peace plan. He added that the fact that political fighting has started so early would bring no good for the Serbian people in Krajina.

Babic Calls Assembly 'Null and Void'

LD0902192192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1847 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Knin, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—In connection with the session of the Krajina Assembly held in Glina today, Milan Babic, president of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, has made the following statement to a TANJUG reporter:

"On the basis of Article 74 of the Constitution of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, the Assembly hold two regular meetings, in March and October. The Assembly meets in emergency session with a previously established agenda at the request of at least one-third of all deputies or at government request.

"At its session on 6 February, the government requested the Assembly to meet tomorrow, 10 February, at 1200 with a previously established agenda.

"The call for the Assembly to meet today in Glina, which was made by Assembly President Mile Paspalj, contravenes the constitutional regulation and, hence, the Assembly session and the adopted decisions are null and void," Milan Babic said in his statement.

Assembly Endorses Vance Peace Plan

LD0902184192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1822 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Text] Glina, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—In the continuation of today's emergency session, the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina has adopted three very important decisions without any major discussions.

First, the Assembly has unconditionally accepted Cyrus Vance's peace plan for the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

The Assembly has also expressed full support and confidence in the work of the SFRY Presidency and the State Committee for Cooperation with UN Representatives in connection with the deployment of peacekeeping forces. It supports in particular the stances of the SFRY Presidency expressed in a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali on 3 February.

The third decision specifies that the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina is charging local authorities with giving full support to the UN peacekeeping forces in their efforts to realize the peace operation. Out of 87 deputies present at today's emergency session of the Assembly of the Republic of Serbian Krajina, 81 voted in favor of these three decisions and six abstained.

Zagreb Radio Journalist Resigns Over Media Bans

LD0702182692 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1256 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Zagreb, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—A well-known journalist, editor, and announcer of Zagreb Radio, Mario Mihaljevic, handed in an irrevocable resignation to Croat Radio and Television, writes the Croat press today.

In his statement at yesterday's news conference, as carried by the newspapers, Mihaljevic said that he had no intention "of cooperating in any way" with Croat Radio and Television. He announced that he will devote himself to politics and become a candidate for the Croat Party of Rights [Hrvatska Stranka Prava].

Mihaljevic said that his resignation is an "honorable gesture" after 22 years of work. He recalled that communists did not prevent him from campaigning for the Croatian Democratic Community, but that the latter did not let him campaign for the Croat Party of Rights.

Mihaljevic is a member of the Croat Party of Rights Central Committee and a propaganda leader in this party.

Dobroslav Paraga, president of the Croat Party of Rights, commented on Mihaljevic's resignation by saying that it is a "warning to the authorities, which have no right to encroach upon citizens' and journalists' rights."

"I thought about the resignation three months ago when the censorship order was issued, because I think that even Bolsheviks were not so inflexible in their repercussions against the press and the media. This hurts my professional feelings, because I do not want anyone to restrict me in my work," was Mihaljevic's message to the Croatian authorities.

"There have never been more bans. I must say that it was easier for me to work under communists than now," he said, adding that the resignation is "a protest on behalf of all the journalists who cannot find a way to raise their voices for fear of being hit on the head."

Mihaljevic is a well-known composer and songwriter. He describes his latest hit in Croatia, "Hrvatina", as a major patriotic song.

Municipalities Join Serbian Autonomous Region

LD0802095192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1748 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Sokolac, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Serbian Autonomous Region of Romanija [Bosnia-Hercegovina] today decided in Sokolac that the municipality of Ilijas and a part of the municipality of Visegrad would be integrated in this region. The assembly also considered its program for this year and decided that the ministers should prepare programs of their departments. The next assembly session will be held in a week's time.

Poll Results Indicate Tudjman Without Equal

92BA0451B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jan 92 p 20

[Unattributed article: "Tudjman Without an Equal"—first paragraph is DANAS introduction]

[Text] The residents of Zagreb think that after the unapproachable president of the Republic of Croatia, Dr. Franjo Greguric and Josip Manolic have the most power.

Who has the most political power in the Republic of Croatia? This question was asked of a surveyed sample of 310 residents of Zagreb, who took part in a public opinion poll conducted by DANAS's research team last week. The respondents were offered four answers, and they were also left the possibility of writing in on their own the systemic institution that they thought had the greatest real political power in Croatia. This question, in fact, was aimed at applying the reputation method of researching the distribution of political power; this method reveals the public's opinion of who the powerful ones are, and does not just analyze the actual distribution of power in some political community. This question is appearing in DANAS's polls for the third time. We asked it for the first time in August 1990, three months after the change in government, and the second time in March 1991. Although then the poll was conducted using a sample that represented the entire adult

population of Croatia, and now (because of the consequences of the war) using only a Zagreb sample, comparisons of the results may be significant.

In August 1990, 30.3 percent of the respondents answered that the president of the Republic had the most political power in Croatia, and 22.9 percent said that it was the Assembly; 18.8 percent answered that the government had the most power, 16.8 percent chose the Presidency of Croatia (which still existed then), and 11.2 percent cited someone else (businessmen, the police, the Yugoslav state leadership, etc.). In March 1991, the president of the Republic was already singled out from all the other institutions; 51.3 percent of the respondents in Croatia believed that he had the most political power. That increase from 30.3 to 51.3 percent can be partly explained by the abolition of the Republic Presidency, with (we assume) those 16.8 percent of the respondents who claimed that it was the most powerful institution in Croatia being added to the previous answers in favor of the president. Nevertheless, there has been a slow decrease in the number of respondents who were convinced that the most powerful Croatian political institution was the Assembly (from 22.9 to 18.5 percent) or the government (from 18.8 to 14.9 percent). At that time a relatively high 14.3 percent of the respondents chose "some other" centers of power.

What are the results of this Zagreb poll like, however? Today in Zagreb as many as 84 percent of the respondents believe that the president of the Republic has the most political power in Croatia. Only 8 percent choose the government, 4 percent the Assembly, 3 percent answer that the most power is concentrated in the police and army leadership of the Republic of Croatia, and 1 percent place the power "somewhere else." Such absolute domination by the conviction that the president of the Republic is the most powerful institution in the country confirms the theses of numerous foreign independent critics, as well as the institutional opposition, that the Assembly's position with respect to the president is marginal. Of course, such a conviction is a result of many circumstances: the state of war, in which the political hierarchy is regularly personalized, the constitutional position of the president of the Republic, the creation of a formal coalition of parliamentary parties, and the moderated activity of the opposition under the conditions of a "direct threat to the integrity of the Republic" through the adoption of the decrees by the president of the Republic, but they are also, of course, a consequence of the existing style of behavior in the leadership of the state system.

The respondents were also asked to answer (in response to an open-ended question) which three individuals, in their opinion, had the most influence upon political decisions in Croatia. A total of 22 individuals were named. Of the 310 respondents, 296 of them chose Dr. Franjo Tudjman, and of these, 15 wrote his name on all three lines in the questionnaire form. Dr. Franjo Greguric, the Croatian prime minister, was in second place in order of occurrence; 100 respondents put him on the list of powerful people. Third place belonged to Josip Manolic, technically a "person in the shadows," but actually very clearly perceived to be a "powerful person" (88 respondents classified him among the three most powerful people). The fourth was the foreign minister, Dr. Separovic (70), the fifth (and sixth) were Stipe Mesic, the chairman of the ruling party's Executive Committee, and Deputy Prime Minister Zdravko Tomac with 52 votes each, and parliamentary president Dr. Zarko Domljan, who was included by 48 people in the "powerful three," was in seventh place.

Among those mentioned were also Ivan Vekic and Antun Tuc (14); Hrvoje Sarinic (10); Vladimir Seks and Martin Spegelj (5); Antun Vrdoljak, Drazen Budisa, and Mladen Vedric (4); Mario Nobilo, Slavko Degoricija, and Gojko Susak (3); Imre Agotic, Sime Djodan, Marko Veselica, and Franjo Kuharic (2).

In order to present the results of DANAS's public opinion poll of Zagreb residents as precisely as possible, a ranking of the above-mentioned politicians was prepared according to the number of points they received. Specifically, each politician who was in first place in the opinion of a respondent received 3 points, one in second place 2 points, and one in third place, 1 point. This was possible because the respondents were also asked to rank the individuals they mentioned according to the degree of power they possessed. When these points were added up, Dr. Franjo Tudjman "occupied" first place even more clearly with 449 points, Dr. Franjo Greguric is in second place with 170 points, and Josip Manolic (162) is in third place. Fourth is Dr. Zvonimir Separovic (118), fifth Stipe Mesic (78), sixth Dr. Zdravko Tomac (60), and seventh, Dr. Zarko Domljan (56). It is interesting, moreover, that the respondents who included Josip Manolic were more convinced than the others that it was precisely this politician who possessed more political power than the others; 88 respondents chose him, but he received 162 points—this means that his average point value was 1.84, more than for the other figures cited. Consequently, those who believe that Josip Manolic is powerful believe that he is very powerful.

Greatest Political Power in Croatia (percent)

President	84
Government	8
Assembly	4
Army and police	3
Others	1

Macedonia

Bulgarian 'Territorial Pretensions' Protested

AU0802175092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] The Executive Council of the Pirot Communal Assembly and the Executive Committee of the Socialist

Party of Serbia in Pirot have held a joint session on the demand of the Committee for National Issues of Bulgaria for parts of the territory of Serbia to be joined to Bulgaria. Boban Mikic has a report:

[Begin Mikic recording] It was decided to most energetically protest the territorial pretensions of Bulgaria and the spread of untruths about the position of the Bulgarian minority in Yugoslavia.

Instead of developing neighborly relations and contributing to peace and stability in the Balkans, the national committee of Bulgaria has asked for the Congress of Berlin to be revised and therefore return to the 19th century. On this occasion it was said in Pirot that this revives the Stalinist theory about the forced gratification of other peoples. The people of Pirot recommend that the Bulgarian historical revisionists satisfy their own people first and then pass this happiness on to the rest.

It should be said finally that the people of the Pirot area well remember the crimes committed by Bulgarian fascists in all the wars. They demand that the Government of Serbia and the SFRY Presidency take energetic measures and positions because of this and let it be known to the Bulgarian Government that they will not allow the territorial integrity of Serbia and Yugoslavia being undermined. This was heard at today's joint session of the Communal Assembly and the Socialist Party of Serbia of Pirot. [end recording]

Federal Secretary Issues Warning on Army Decision

LD0702153792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Feb (TANJUG)—Federal Internal Affairs Secretary Petar Gracanin has warned Macedonian Internal Affairs Minister Ljubomir Frckovski that the adoption and implementation of the decision on restricting the activities of units and institutions of the Yugoslav People's Army and the introduction of special regulations for the movement of army vehicles is contrary to the SFRY Constitution and federal regulations, a statement from the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs says today.

In the warning to Frckovski in connection with the said decision which the Macedonian government adopted three days ago, Gracanin yesterday demanded that "the implementation of the decision be stopped immediately."

"I am solemnly warning of the serious security consequences which could arise from the measures of the internal affairs organs in the Republic of Macedonia," the warning of the Federal Secretary for Internal Affairs underlines.

Army, Republic Military Transport Talks Begin

AU0702140292 Skopje Radio Macedonia Network in Macedonian 2100 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Macedonian Radio correspondents report that officers of the Third Army District led by their commander, General Nikola Uzelac visited the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Macedonia this morning. We do not have the details on the talks, but we have learned that Uzelac, until recently of the Banja Luka Corps, was told that any new attempt at transporting weapons and military equipment from Macedonia to Serbia will be prevented.

According to what Macedonian Radio has learned, this meeting is only the beginning of talks between the responsible organs of Macedonia and the military authorities. It goes without saying that the talks are going to be held in the spirit of the general orientation of the Republic of Macedonia toward consensual and peaceful solutions to all problems.

Agreement Reached on Withdrawal

AU0702173292 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Boris Djordijoski report]

[Excerpts] A consensus was reached at the meeting of the Third Military District and Ministry of Internal Affairs yesterday, and an agreement regulating the mutual relations during the withdrawal of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army [JNA] from Macedonia was signed. This was confirmed by Blaze Ristovski, vice president of the Macedonian Government, at the news conference in Skopje today. The agreement envisages mutual respect and adherence to regulations, avoidance of incidents, and protection of the state border until the completion of the JNA's withdrawal from Macedonia.

It was agreed that the talks be resumed at a higher level, that is to say, that the talks be held with General Blagoje Adzic, acting federal defense secretary, but not with, as was said, the illegitimate SFRY Presidency, which is the self-styled presidency of a country that no longer exists. The same statement was given by Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov last night. He stressed that the JNA's withdrawal is a purely military issue and not a political one. [passage omitted]

Blaze Ristovski today confirmed that any type of military transport is impossible without special permission from the Republican Ministry of Internal Affairs. With such permission, a convoy of 17 trailers of equipment departed Kicevo and Macedonia this morning. Ristovski says that nothing can happen any longer without the knowledge of the police, and that in fact it has been demonstrated that the Macedonian Government is now in charge of the entire Macedonian territory.

The greatest part of the military hardware and equipment has already been taken out of Macedonia. There

were also attempts to take away equipment that is of vital importance for the functioning of the republic. This will not be allowed, especially not when equipment for the control of air traffic is in question, in order to prevent what happened in Slovenia from being repeated in Macedonia.

All of the arms belonging to the Territorial Defense of Macedonia are stored in the JNA's barracks. As of today, the arms are under the joint control of the police and the Army. It was agreed with the command of the Third Military District in Skopje that the equipment from the military hospital not be evacuated.

Sharp criticism was leveled at the expense of journalists, who, in their search for sensational stories, create confusion and uproar by spreading unconfirmed news, like the news that works of art are being taken away from the JNA Hall in Skopje and that equipment is being taken out of the military hospital.

The Macedonian Government, Ristovski says, will not recognize the current sale of military apartments in the republic. The deadline for the JNA's withdrawal from Macedonia is the end of May, as envisaged by the Constitutional Law of Macedonia. This gives the Army a sufficient amount of time for the withdrawal to be carried out peacefully and without incidents.

Ristovski stressed that everything that has so far been taken out of Macedonia will be taken into consideration when drafting a separation settlement.

10,000 Attend Pro-SFRY Rally in Kumanovo

AU0802194992 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Boris Djordjioski report]

[Text] Some 10,000 residents of Kumanovo and the surrounding area gathered today for a peaceful protest meeting in the center of town. They were protesting the failure to implement the second part of the question asked in the referendum, which says that it is the right of a sovereign Macedonia to join an alliance of sovereign Yugoslav states.

The referendum was held in Macedonia on 8 September. Macedonia became a sovereign state, but it did not join a Yugoslav community. As Dragan Atanasovski, president of the League of Communists-Movement for Yugoslavia, said at the meeting, the people of Macedonia were tricked. In his opinion, the referendum was ambiguous. New elections are demanded because the people no longer believe this leadership and the Macedonian parliament. They are (?allowing) the creation of a second Bulgarian state in the Balkans on Macedonian territory.

Dobrivoje Tomic, president of the Association of Serbs and Montenegrins in Kumanovo, warned the Macedonian leadership that they are on the wrong road because they are setting up barriers and borders in the direction of Yugoslavia. We want harmony rather than division, Tomic concluded, and called for the Yugoslav People's Army to be left alone because we all need it.

Yugoslavism has been turned into the number one enemy. These are difficult days for Yugoslavism but it will [word indistinct] overcome and survive. This was stressed by Slobodan Ivanovski, president of the governing committee of the Party of Yugoslavs for Macedonia. National options cannot mean the elimination of Yugoslavia and there must be a reaffirmation of the Yugoslav community which is our common destiny. There were cries that no one has the right to take away our state, along with demands that the referendum decisions be adhered to.

In the letter that the meeting sent to the Macedonian leadership and the SFRY Presidency, it is stressed that the Macedonian Government has not been given a mandate by the people to separate this republic from Yugoslavia. It must advocate the reorganization of Yugoslavia with a sovereign Macedonia within its borders. If this demand is not met, the citizens of Kumanovo will launch an initiative for new elections in the republic.

Mentions of Kiro Gligorov and Prime Minister Nikola Kljusev were met with whistles and long, loud protests. Banners declared: Yugoslavia is here; The people have been deceived; We do not want borders with Serbia and Yugoslavia. The meeting was quite peaceful and ended with the Yugoslav and Macedonian anthems.

Skopje Serbs Protest 'Secessionist Policy'

LD0902213492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2053 GMT 9 Feb 92

[Excerpt] Skopje, 9 Feb (TANJUG)—About 3,000 people attended a protest rally against "the secessionist policy of the Macedonian leadership" this afternoon in Skopje's suburb of Kuceviste. Serbs live in this area.

Addressing the rally were representatives of the Democratic Party of Serbs in Macedonia [Demokratska stranka Srba u Makedoniji], which is about to be registered with the Macedonian Ministry for Internal Affairs; representatives of Serbs and Montenegrins in Macedonia; and local politicians.

The rally expressed the orientation of the inhabitants of this suburb to live as equal citizens with the Macedonian nation and other citizens of Macedonia within the frontiers of the present Yugoslav state. [passage omitted]

Serbia

De Michelis: EC Considering Ties With Serbia

LD0802225292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1939 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] Rome, Feb 8 (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis announced today that the

European Community (EC) Council of Ministers in Lisbon on February 17 would consider the renewal of economic cooperation with the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia.

Italy was now set to accept the possible decision by the EC To renew economic coperation with Serbia, de Michelis told the closing session of the Venice Conference on Integration and Development of Adriatic Countries.

On November 8, the EC imposed economic sanctions on Yugoslavia. Last week, however, it lifted the sanctions from all the republics except for Serbia. On January 15, the EC recognized the Yugoslav breakaway republics of Croatia and Slovenia.

De Michelis explained that the 'recognition of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia had never meant that Italy was backing up one side against the other.' He added that 'Italy could not bring itself into the position to oppose the Serbs who number nine million.'

Italy belongs to the bloc of countries which, headed by Germany, contributed most to the secession of Slovenia and Croatia, what is looked at in Serbia with great discontent.

As for the engagement of a U.N. peacekeeping force in Yugoslavia, de Michelis said that 'marked progress has been made, with results in the outset.'

In his view, whoever opposes the sending of Blue Helmets to Yugoslavia 'should be automatically excluded from the world community.'

The U.N. security council last night passed a fifth resolution on Yugoslavia, announcing the possible start of the peace oparation in Yugoslavia and urging U.N. secretary-general Butros Ghali to 'step up preparations' for its beginning.

Jovanovic: UN Troops Arrival 'Matter of Days'

LD0802185392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Text] Belgrade, February 8 (TANJUG)—Vladislav Jovanovic, the foreign minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia, has said that it was only a matter of days when a U.N. peace-keeping force would come to Yugoslavia.

In an interview to Belgrade Radio today, Jovanovic said that all requirements for sending U.N. troops soon have been met—political, strategic, psychological and procedural. The only obstacle 'in the psychological sense' is Milan Babic, the president of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), who wants a modification of the U.N. peace plan, as Jovanovic said. He pointed out that most municipal leaders in Krajina have accepted the U.N. plan and 'in fact stated no confidence' in Babic.

However, the U.N. does not send its troops until the very last local factor fully approves their deployment. Jovanovic said he believes the problem would be settled in the next few days, so that the U.N. Security Council could decide on sending peace-keepers to Yugoslavia next week. The U.N. troops are to be deployed in the RSK which comprises three regions, where Serbs are the majority population, within the administrative borders of Croatia. The leaders of two regions accepted the U.N. plan without setting any conditions, while Babic, who was originally the leader of one of the three regions and later became RSK president, rejected the plan.

Instead of Babic, the U.N. plan was accepted by RSK Parliament President Mile Paspalj as well as 14 of the 16 municipal leaders of the region of Krajina.

Jovanovic said that the United Nations, now virtually the principal factor in clarifying the Yugoslav crisis, might soon take the lead in its resolving, as Jovanovic said. Jovanovic, who yesterday returned from a visit to Italy, told Belgrade Radio that 'Italy has finally realized that the Yugoslav reality does not only consist of desires of republics and nations to leave Yugoslavia, but also of even stronger desires to remain in it.' He explained that his hosts in Rome, namely Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis, 'respected the legitimate demands and wishes of those nations and republics which want to continue living together in Yugoslavia to do so.'

Jovanovic said he hoped that the change in Italy's stand would be contained in the future work of the conference on Yugoslavia in Brussels. The European Community and Italy adhere by their stand that the Yugoslav crisis is a process of self-disintegration of a state, not the process of unilateral secessionism, Jovanovic said. According to him, 'the (European) Community could not otherwise explain to its public and nationalists in the Community countries why it is giving legitimacy to secessionists in Yugoslavia and enables them to become independent states, at the same time denying the same right to nationalists and secessionists within the Community.'

Commentary Views EC Pressure on Tudjman

AU0802213692 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 8 Feb 92

[Nebojsa Jankovic commentary]

[Text] Not since the height of the Middle East crisis on the eve of the outbreak of war in the Gulf has the UN Security Council met so frequently as it has in the last few days to discuss Yugoslavia. The last and fifth session brought the most explicit resolution, which briefly says that preparations should be speeded up, the remaining obstacles removed, and the peacekeeping forces urgently sent to Yugoslavia.

The second point of this resume of instructions regarding the removal of the remaining obstacles has boiled down in recent days to the cracking of the last two hard nuts: Tudjman and Babic. In this respect, a high degree of consensus has been perceived between domestic and foreign peace factors.

The refusal of the Zagreb regime to accept the arrival of peacekeeping troops was encouraged, at least indirectly, by the fact that instead of a brutal but effective policy of sticks and carrots, the EC countries, and particularly Germany, have mainly waved in front of the hungry Croatian leadership of the sovereign state the carrot of mass diplomatic recognition. However, when the counter-productive behavior of Zagreb exceeded all bounds and threatened a continuation of the war, a clobbering was arranged behind its back with Germany actually holding the stick, something that is only an illusory paradox.

Under sharp pressure from Bonn, Tudjman had to accept the unconditional arrival of the blue helmets despite the fact that Butrus Ghali, do not forget, had resolutely stated that the peacekeeping forces would in fact only freeze the present situation without touching the local authority of the Serbs in their ethnic territories.

The expectations that such guarantees would pacify the Krajina leader Babic did not come true, and friendly persuasion turned into a three-day marathon session in the Belgrade Palace of the former Federation. The efforts to convince Babic had, however, the additional but by no means negligible effect of deterring all others who would have been prepared, in the absence of a political breakthrough, to immediately take up arms again.

It should be said finally that international pressure was not the only factor that imposed the peace option. The fact is that the war, which is having an increasing effect on so-called civilian life but not when it comes to Tudjman's hawks and individual Krajina leaders, has fewer and fewer supporters in Croatia, and particularly in Serbia.

Kosovo Albanians Demand Independence Recognition

AU0702180792 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Milivoje Mihajlovic report]

[Text] The Albanians will demand that the EC, members of the CSCE, and the United States recognize the independence of the state of Kosovo. This was stated by Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Democratic Alliance of Kosovo, at today's news conference. Rugova added that he expects that recognition will take place soon.

The recognition of Kosovo's independence would prevent mass bloodshed in this region, according to Ibrahim Rugova. Hinting that the patience of Albanians is coming to an end, Rugova reiterated that Albanians have been contributing toward European peace and democracy for 10 years.

Rugova's party will soon demand from the EC that it facilitate free movement of goods and people between Kosovo and Albania. It was confirmed today that the next step in the political struggle of the Albanians in Kosovo and Metohija will be the boycott of Serbian goods.

This party also believes that there can be no peaceful Macedonian state until complete autonomy is granted to the Albanians in Macedonia. We are not threatening, Rugova said, but simply letting it be known that the will of Albanians in Macedonia must be respected.

Slovenia

Italian President Comments on Talks With Kucan

LD0702233992 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Text] Although it was introduced with a ceremony at the highest state level customary for official visits, Italian protocol interprets today's short meeting between Italian President Francesco Cossiga and Slovenian Presidency President Milan Kucan in Gorica as unofficial. The talks at Gorica prefecture lasted over an hour. President Cossiga told journalists afterward that he wished to hear Kucan's comment on yesterday's assessment by Serbian Minister Jovanovic to him and to Prime Minister Andreotti. He said that they also talked about Croatia allowing the Blue Helmets to arrive and Knin's resistence to this, as well as about the possibility of recognizing Macedonia. He also said that Kucan reassured him that although it did not sign the tripartite memorandum on the Italian minority, Slovenia would observe the spirit and provisions of the agreement. Claudio Vitalone, under secretary in the Italian Foreign Ministry, also attended the talks. He added that the talks dealt with protecting the Slovenian minority. President Cossiga's stand is identical to that adopted by Prime Minister Andreotti in his recent talks with Peterle, namely to wait until the elections are over before reexamining the government draft, considering those Slovenian stands which would not undermine the balance.

Kucan Comments

LD0802022292 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 7 Feb 92

[Interview with Slovenian Presidency President Milan Kucan by correspondent Mojca Domancic on Kucan's talks with Italian President Francesco Cossiga in Gorica on 7 February—recorded]

[Text] [Domancic] The talks lasted longer than evisaged and dealt with three subjects. Can you briefly tell us about them?

[Kucan] The first and greatest part was devoted—(?at the request) of President Cossiga—to solving problems related to the Yugoslav crisis. The key questions concerned the arrival of the peacekeeping forces—that is, the possibility of their arrival; Bosnia-Hercegovina's fate; Macedonia's fate; and Serbia's attempt to be the direct successor of the former Yugoslavia, just as Russia

became the Soviet Union's successor. The second question concerned cooperation with Slovenia. In this respect, more or less, there were no particular problems.

[Domancic] Political or economic cooperation?

[Kucan] It concerned Italy's readiness to help us with [words indistinct], which will obviously again be connected with the question of succession of Yugoslavia, which will cause many problems. I think that this will mean very hard work. In essence, our recognition does not yet mean an open road to Slovenia's true, full functioning and communication with the international community, above all with organizations like the United Nations, the IMF, and the World Bank.

[Domancic] Has the Italian president promised any help in this respect?

[Kucan] He promised this the last time, as much as this will be within their power and as much as this will be connected with the success, the results, of the Brussels conference. There is no problem in this respect, but there will still be a lot of hard work before the Brussels conference. There will be [words indistinct] expert discussions which will require thorough knowledge of the principles of international law, international agreements, especially those concluded by Yugoslavia, as well as many international acts, including the Helsinki charter and documents (?used) in the new Europe. The third question involved the national minorities' problems. It was [words indistinct] clearly said that it was not beneficial to postpone the solution of the minority problems because otherwise they would start, against the will of Slovenia and Italy, to burden our relations. It was determined that it is necessary to intensify work to find the solutions, so that they would be ready once the new Italian legislature would reassemble, as solutions cannot be accepted until April, when the elections will be held. In this context, all three Slovenian municipalities in Gorica Province—Doberdob, (Savodje), and (Severjan)—represent a special problem, of course. As you know, their statutes are in the process of confirmation. The (Savodje) statutes have already been assessed by the competent commission as incompatible with Italian legislation. Both the president and I considered that it would not be a good idea to accept a solution now which would prejudice the final solution when the law is adopted by the Italian (?Parliament). He also repeated his readiness to receive in Rome representatives of the Slovenian minority from these three municipalities and to explain to them his stands and views on solving the minority problems.

[Domancic] How do you comment on our press reports that Peterle sold the national minority for the money for motorways?

[Kucan] I think that the prime minister should first be asked what has really happened at these talks, what was his stand. I think that in a way this would be the proper way to explain to the Slovenian public, especially to the minority, what has really happened.

Minister Announces Year's Defense Expenditures

LD0702090892 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1857 GMT 6 Feb 92

[Text] Maribor, 6 Feb (TANJUG)—Slovene Defense Minister Janez Jansa declared that this year Slovenia would spend about 170 million dollars on defense, adding that this was four times less than the republic contributed to the defense needs in the 1990 Yugoslav budget. He said that this year some 15,000 conscripts will be trained in the territorial defense of Slovenia. Jansa stated this in Maribor where he attended last night's function for some 500 officers of the territorial defense of Slovenia who were promoted last year.

Drnovsek Outlines Transitional Government

92BA0450A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 25 Jan 92 p 21

[Interview with Janez Drnovsek, candidate for prime minister, by Janko Lorenci; place and date not given: "My Government Would Be an Economic Government"]

[Text] If someone is going to replace Peterle as prime minister even before the natural end of his government, it could only be Dr. Janez Drnovsek, as it seems at this moment. The doctor found himself in this rule unexpectedly, since he was aiming primarily at the position of state president. He will accept a temporary position as prime minister if he gains the support of enough parties, namely because, in his usual cautious way, he acknowledges that the continued existence of Peterle's government will do great harm to Slovenia.

[Lorenci] The political situation is changing suddenly and dramatically. Are you, then, still a potential prime minister?

[Drnovsek] Yes, in view of the parties' proposals. Several parties came with an initiative for my becoming prime minister, and I answered by accepting the initiative, if the parties agreed on this and if it were the way out of the political crisis and blockade. In spite of the great risk, I think that some fundamental things could be done during the transitional period until the elections.

[Lorenci] Today, on Thursday, it seems that the new government coalition that was to support you has already collapsed.

[Drnovsek] The situation is really changing swiftly. It seems that it will be very difficult for the parties to reach an agreement. The difficulty is not so much in the question of whether I am the right prime minister or not. It has more to do with the fact that it is very difficult for different parties with different orientations from different blocs to reach an agreement, and that some of them still think that it will be possible to have early elections and are giving priority to that.

[Lorenci] Do early elections still in the first half of the year seem realistic to you?

[Drnovsek] It would be the best way out of the political crisis, but it does not seem realistic to me. The talks to date among the political parties indicate that they will not be able to agree amiably on the elections either.

[Lorenci] Some people are saying that this last coalition, "yours," has fallen apart just like the previous one that was supposed to support Bavcar. At this time it would probably be too early for Joze Skolc to publicly declare a new coalition, if he thus, among other things, tried to make himself into a leader, etc.

[Drnovsek] I did not attend Monday's meeting of the potential new coalition, but I was informed about it, of course. These were essentially preliminary talks among the cooperating parties, who had more or less all publicly stated already that they would support me as prime minister if the government were to be replaced. Some of them, however, as I said, are giving priority to early elections, and the leaderships of those parties cannot talk about other possibilities until it is distinctly made clear that there will be no early elections. The whole matter was made public as if some firm agreement had already been concluded on a new coalition, and that probably surprised even the membership of the parties in question. That is why the membership and the deputies, in some cases, "resisted." From that standpoint, a premature public appearance could hurt a potential new coalition.

[Lorenci] On the other hand, its appearance could also be a welcome pretext, for example for Plut or Pucnik, to reject the new coalition. If they really had a firm desire to conclude one, they would probably persist in it regardless of any possible premature and tactless statement.

[Drnovsek] Possibly. In any case, no one is forcing all these parties into this coalition. I am by no means the author of the idea of my becoming prime minister. At other people's initiative, I consciously put myself in the position of some sort of prime minister who does not have the initiative.

[Lorenci] The party leaders have recently been knocking on your door. Have you spoken with the heads of all the parliamentary parties?

[Drnovsek] With a large majority of them.

[Lorenci] At their initiative?

[Drnovsek] As a rule.

[Lorenci] A rumor has been reported that you and Kucan agreed that you would be the candidate for prime minister, and that you would not enter into a conflict with him for the presidential position.

[Drnovsek] Kucan and I can be potential competitors in the presidential elections, but we have not agreed, of course, on anything like what you are saying. The matter remains open, and I think no one has rejected any option yet, and the decisions will be adapted to the current situation.

[Lorenci] You said that as a potential prime minister you decided on a passive role. You probably, unofficially, accepted the prime minister position because it seems to you that Peterle's government would have to be replaced by a new and better government, which would possibly be headed by you. From this standpoint, it would be understandable if you took a more active approach in agreeing on a new coalition, and did not just wait and receive visits.

[Drnovsek] A passive prime minister is not the best expression. I could hardly be the initiator of such a matter, because I am outside the parties. I have already said that it is precisely because of my nonparty position that so far I have given priority to the presidential elections, and the position of prime minister has consequently not been my main interest.

Nevertheless, if the present situation (the blockade in parliament and the government crisis) continues, considerable harm will be done to Slovenia in the next few months, and it will find itself in substantially greater economic difficulties than necessary. It consequently seems to me that in spite of everything, it would be sensible to step in as the head of such a transitional and temporary government, and take several necessary steps in the economic area. Nevertheless, I will not participate actively in the overthrow of the present government and its prime minister. That is a decision for the parties and parliament.

[Lorenci] If your temporary government were successful, it would at least open up prospects for you to be able to score new political points, and thus acceptance of the prime minister position would not be only a risk for you, but also a possible gain.

[Drnovsek] The risk is great, in any case. I am prepared to take it, however, even though you have also portrayed me in your newspaper as some sort of waverer.

[Lorenci] We brought that up more as a question than an assertion.... How far are you actually prepared to go in the talks with the parties? Have you only talked in principle about whether you would be prepared to accept the prime minister position, or also specifically, for example, about ministerial posts for individual parties?

[Drnovsek] There has not been any purely specific consultation. I have avoided it, and especially haggling over ministerial posts.

[Lorenci] Have the parties at least indicated such offers or demands?

[Drnovsek] Some of them have, but I did not agree to such discussions. I asked the party leaders what the possible solution was, in their opinion, with respect to property legislation, for example. Elimination of the blockade on property seems extremely important to me.

Another issue that has been mentioned several times in these talks was reducing the number of ministers in the government. I also think that the present government is too large and not effective enough, and I would probably decide to make it more efficient quickly.

[Lorenci] It would probably be difficult for you to succeed in that, since the parties that would want to participate in such a coalition would demand ministerial positions for themselves (if not already, then later in specific talks), and you would probably be forced to yield.

[Drnovsek] I would not agree to such compromises, especially since my motive is not to get this government at any cost and thus be forced into such compromises. I would act according to the criterion of the competence of individual ministers. The successful ones should be left in their positions, and the less successful ones should be replaced, but at the same time, reducing the number of ministers should be considered. That is how I would deal with the matter. Perhaps this is also one of the reasons why the enthusiasm about my becoming prime minister is declining, in a way.

[Lorenci] In principle, as a nonparty person, you would have more room to maneuver in putting together and heading a government.

[Drnovsek] That is an advantage, and I would try to establish it as a point of departure. It would be my game, and I would perhaps be more successful in this than as a party candidate. Of course, a game can succeed or fail, and if it fails, then there is nothing left of the prime minister position. If it succeeds, however, it is a better point of departure for the government, and there is more possibility for its success.

[Lorenci] There is more and more of a likelihood that Slovenia will be left with Peterle's government, which will maintain itself through cosmetic modifications like the one with Bastl until sometime toward the end of the year.

[Drnovsek] That is possible. Things are still fairly open, however, and when several parties decide that spring elections are not possible, the present discussion will perhaps begin again. Everyone actually agrees that the present situation must not last until the fall or until the end of the year. Unfortunately, that is the only thing they agree on.

[Lorenci] You also could not afford to remain available indefinitely as a potential prime minister?

[Drnovsek] Of course. There is no sense in taking over the government for two months. I have been guided by the following consideration, and perhaps this is also why I have been less aggressive: It seemed to me that it would be possible to gain the support of a large majority of the parties for a new government in the upcoming period, and that consequently no new coalition that would pull to one side or the other would be created; instead, all the parties, including the Christian Democrats, would agree that during the transitional period until the elections matters would be guided by some sort of neutral, transitional government. It would not be so involved in political games, but would instead try to take the right economic steps at this time which is crucial for Slovenia. This was my main reason.

[Lorenci] As prime minister, would you probably change the economic part of the government most thoroughly, including the personnel?

[Drnovsek] There would probably also be organizational changes, and a merger of some of the ministries. My government, at any rate, would be an economic government. That area would have a high priority, and I probably would not become substantially involved in other areas. In my opinion, the main problem of the economic ministries in the government, and also institutions outside it (the Bank of Slovenia, the Chamber...) lies in the fact that there is no real economic coordination. That is the key thing that is lacking now. It is as if everyone is operating his own enterprise; they even have a competitive relationship, and in the economic area there is not even a uniform strategy or tactics. In my opinion, this is the main thing that a prime minister oriented toward the economy could contribute in this situation.

[Lorenci] If you want to coordinate, you must have some basic vision and strategy. The present government lacks good economic strategists and executives. Would you also be the main economic strategist in your own government?

[Drnovsek] At any rate, I would try to be the head of the economic ministerial team, and also the coordinator with other institutions. For drafting an economic strategy, however, I would fully involve our best economists in cooperating as closely as possible with the government.

[Lorenci] Would you trust them more than the present government does?

[Drnovsek] I know them and I trust them. They also know me well. There is perhaps an advantage in this, since we do not need intermediaries in our dialogue; we can do it directly.

[Lorenci] What should any Slovene government do in the economic area, in your opinion?

[Drnovsek] First of all, budgetary spending should be revised.

[Lorenci] By what percentage of the social product should the budget be reduced?

[Drnovsek] The present one is substantially too high. As early as this year it should be reduced below 60 percent of the social product. The second point is the regulation and financial rehabilitation of the financial system. The issue of defining our foreign obligations is closely linked

to this decision. This issue is completely open, and is already quite acute. Slovenia definitely needs a new agreement with foreign creditors. Taking over its share of the Yugoslav debt seems like a simple solution. That is not a solution, however. The creditors can hold us responsible for all of Yugoslavia's debt, and Slovenia is formally obligated for it.

[Lorenci] It is also clear to foreign creditors that we cannot consent to that.

[Drnovsek] They do not expect it either, but for now that is still Slovenia's formal obligation, and the question is where and when it is to end. Should Slovenia stop payments and demand a new formal agreement? Should it continue repaying the debt, even though this perhaps will mean nothing to the creditors and instead they will simply take the payment and immediately present the next demand? In short, this is all completely open, and these are very important issues. Slovenia still has not worked out a strategy or tactics regarding them.

[Lorenci] Do you have a position on this that has been clarified?

[Drnovsek] Yes.

[Lorenci] Could you explain it briefly?

[Drnovsek] Usually such things are not stated in public, since that would betray a negotiating strategy. At any rate, however, I would insist that first of all it is necessary to reach a new formal and legal agreement with foreign creditors.

As far as other steps that the government would have to take are concerned, it would be necessary to conduct a balanced fiscal and restrictive monetary policy, and at the same time, to establish new financial arrangements abroad—both with the goal of a stable and later also convertible currency in mind. I think that not much progress has been made on this point, it seems. At any rate, it will soon also be necessary to adopt a new trade agreement with the EC, regulate relations with the United States, and thus open up membership in international financial institutions. In this regard, as I have stated, privatization is still an extremely important issue. Independent Slovenia has become economically more manageable and more flexible. That is why we can also emerge faster from the serious situation, as it appears at first glance.

[Lorenci] What will you do if nothing comes of your becoming prime minister? Will you wait for new elections?

[Drnovsek] Of course.

[Lorenci] And then you will apply for the position of state president. In this regard, would a possible conflict with Milan Kucan already be a hopeless struggle ahead of time?

[Drnovsek] I never accept assessments of hopelessness, either in the economy or in politics. In the second place, my primary orientation toward the presidential elections is a consequence of my former nonparty status. Since I am an independent politician, it is more normal for me to be a candidate for the presidential position than for a position in a government that in principle is defined by the parties. I actually only come into consideration for a government position in the kind of situation we are in now, a sort of blockade, a deadlocked situation, in which the parties have to seek compromises. Such a situation is more an exception than the rule.

[Lorenci] Unless you join some promising party and become its candidate for prime minister after the elections. That would be one of the possibilities.

[Drnovsek] That is true. Sometimes I am accused of calculating and recalculating which party is best, which seems best, etc. In my case, however, it has to do with the fact that it is difficult for me to give up my independent status, cross that magic line, and enter some party. For the time being, I have not been able to convince myself to take that step. For the time being, all the options are still open.

[Lorenci] It seems that you are only interested in the highest and most important positions—president of the republic, or prime minister. Could you call this healthy self-awareness, healthy ambition, or something else?

[Drnovsek] Let me answer with a bit of humor: This is the only kind of work experience I have in politics.

Government Proposes Compromise Privatization Law

92BA0434C Ljubljana DELO in Slovene
17 Jan 92 p 3

[Article by Vinko Vasle: "Minister Ocvirk Has Prepared a Compromise Property Law"—first paragraph is DELO introduction]

[Text] The draft permits privatization in several ways; citizens' shares are to be received only by those who have not been included in any of the privatizations.

Ljubljana, 16 Jan—When Prime Minister Lojze Peterle promised new property legislation a few days ago, it was all more reminiscent of reassuring promises. It seems, however, that Deputy Prime Minister Andrej Ocvirk has nevertheless undertaken this politicized Gordian knot, and prepared supplements and expansions of the government's proposed law, which, along with more than 250 amendments, has been held up in parliament, and has caused a blockade in parliament and a final split in the government.

Ocvirk's draft law on the transformation of the ownership of enterprises is written clearly: What he is proposing himself is written in large letters, and what is left of the former Sachs-Pleskovic-Umek law is in small

letters. Even at first glance, one can say that the draft of this law is nevertheless a compromise among different proposals. Just like the government's last law, Ocvirk's also divides enterprises into large, medium, and small ones. The small ones are those that meet three conditions: no more than 50 employees, annual earnings less than 2 million ECU's, and an average value of assets that does not exceed 1 million ECU's. Medium-sized ones have to meet two of three conditions: that they do not have more than 250 employees, annual earnings are less than 8 million ECU's, and the value of the assets is less than 4 million ECU's. Large ones are all those that exceed at least two of the three conditions for medium-sized enterprises, and, in any case, banks, insurance companies, and companies that are included in consolidation.

The draft of Ocvirk's law permits privatization in several ways. The first is the so-called installment payment distribution of common shares to the worked employed by an enterprise, who can acquire at most 15 percent of the enterprise's book value. In return for these shares, they have to pay 40 percent of thei. value in two years. Whereas large and medium-sized enterprises must necessarily be transformed into economic companies and transfer at least 30 percent of the value of their capital to a central fund in the form of common shares, small enterprises do not have to do this.

Otherwise, according to Ocvirk, enterprises can also be privatized through additional capitalization, i.e., by assessment of the value of the enterprise after the distribution of 15 percent of the shares, on which employees decide or not. The additional capitalization has to amount to at least 20 percent of its value, which interested parties have to pay within one year. In return for this they acquire common shares, whereas the value of the assessed property is transferred to the fund in the form of preferred shares, which carry a half vote in comparison with the common share from additional capitalization. They also provide the right to a half dividend. So-called worker purchase is possible at small enterprises, namely for employed workers, and members of cooperative organizations and organizations of subcontractors, who are equated to employees. This, as Ocvirk says in his explanation, eliminates the inequality between workers in the food-processing industry and cooperative workers or subcontractors, who would otherwise obtain 51 percent of the property on the basis of the controversial Article 10 of the Law on Cooperatives.

The so-called distribution of citizens' shares, through which Peterle's government tried to obtain a majority in favor of its law, is not recognized by Ocvirk's draft to such an extent. According to him, citizens' shares should only be acquired by those who have not been and will not be included in any of the privatizations—consequently, neither the apartments, the enterprises, or denationalization.

In contrast to the government's previous law, this draft provides that an enterprise can keep 50 percent of the purchase price for three years as a loan, which is revalued with a foreign exchange clause and with a 2-percent real interest rate. Ocvirk's draft also tries to be a compromise in the article that talks about who should designate a large enterprise for sale even before the beginning of privatization—it can only be an administrative body together with the Executive Council; the government's law previously granted those rights exclusively to the latter.

Deputy Prime Minister Andrej Ocvirk is proposing that this law of his should be sent as a draft to the parliament, at the same time as the law on economic companies. Ocvirk thinks that "primarily those who are interested in doing so and also have the appropriate qualifications for it should become the owners of Slovene socialized enterprises."

[Box, p 3]

This law, like the government's previous one, provides for the transfer of 30 percent of the common shares of medium-sized and large enterprises to a central fund. From this, 15 percent of each enterprise's shares are transferred to a compensation fund intended for denationalization, 35 percent to investment companies or holding companies, and 20 percent to a pension fund. Until this happens, the central fund is required to appoint the members of the enterprise's management bodies, if it has 50 percent of its shares in it, and if it has less than that many, it will do so only in the event that the enterprise is operating at a loss.

[Box, p 3]

In addition to common shares, which entail the right to management and dividends, Ocvirk's draft also recognizes purchasable preferred shares, which are issued in exchange for unpurchased social capital in the case of a workers' purchase. These shares are transferrable only with the consent of the enterprise; they are cumulative and participative; they do not provide voting rights, but they do provide a fixed dividend in the amount of 2 percent annually. They also provide the right to payment in the event of bankruptcy or liquidation.

Germany Increases Slovene Work Permit Quota

92BA0454B Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene
23 Jan 92 p 6

[Article by Svato Krasnik: "Work Letters of Credit 'On Credit'"—first paragraph is DNEVNIK introduction]

[Text] How will the quota of permits to work in western Germany be distributed? Intergovernmental agreement between western Germany and Slovenia provides for about 3,000 work permits.

Trbovlje, 23 Jan—"We are going to Europe" was one of the principal slogans of our independence efforts, and it also applies to the present and future reality of the Republic of Slovenia. Some people are already in

Europe, since with what they have done they have already earned a reputation as good contractors for special capital investment and other work. Nevertheless, instead of continuing that way, it may happen that they will have to reduce their work and even drop out of profitable contracts abroad that have already been signed. Specifically, this has to do with the urgent issue of the distribution of the quota of 3,000 work permits for the Slovene economy's activity in Germany.

At the end of last year, in fact, according to data gathered by the General Association of the Construction Industry and the Construction Materials Industry, about 2,660 workers were working in the Federal Republic of Germany with work permits, and that quota was part of the western German work permit quota that was still allocated to Yugoslavia. The present intergovernmental agreement between western Germany and the Republic of Slovenia only provides for about 3,000 work permits, which of course would cover the Slovene economy's already established presence in the FRG, and more permits would still be left for new interested Slovene parties. It appears, however, that this is not the case.

The Association of the Construction Industry and Construction Materials Industry of Slovenia, operating within the framework of the Slovene Chamber of Commerce, has in fact provided, in the draft regulations on distributing the agreed-upon quota of work permits in the FRG, for using as a base the average number of workers in "detachments" in the FRG in 1990. That base, in fact, does not favor those of our enterprises that have established a reputation in the FRG through many years' presence there, but did not have as many workers in the FRG in the base year as they do today.

The Trbovlje Mining and Construction Works [RGB], for example, has already been present in the FRG for decades, and at this time, with its highly skilled workers, it has acquired a high reputation in carrying out specialized underground and other work in that European country. It was precisely in 1990 that RGD, because of bankruptcy difficulties, had the fewest workers in the FRG in all the years to date. This year, about 225 RGD Trbovlje workers are already carrying out special work in the FRG, and contracts signed with FRG customers and almost concluded agreements with FRG customers indicate that RGD should soon have considerably more of its experts in the FRG. In this regard, however, there is a problem with the distribution of work permits for workers in the FRG this year, since, according to the proposed distribution, RGD Trbovlje will receive at most 136 work permits. Consequently, according to this proposal, those who have already established themselves in the FRG are to reduce the extent of their activity there, while others, who are only seeking possibilities for business in that state, are to be granted "work letters of credit," so to speak, "on credit"?